

THE  
ECLECTIC REVIEW

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- ART. I.—1. *Criminal Tables, for England and Wales.* 1805—1847. London: Hansard.
2. *Statistics of Crime.* By R. W. Rawson, Esq., Hon. Secretary, Statistical Society of London. *Statistical Journal*, Vol. II. pp. 317—344. 1839.
3. *Statistics of Crime in England and Wales, for the Years 1842—1844.* By F. G. P. Neison, Esq., F.L.S., F.S.S. *Statistical Journal*, Vol. IX. pp. 223—275. 1846.
4. *Thirteenth Report on Prisons.* London: Hansard. 1848.
5. *Ninth Annual Report of Births, Deaths, and Marriages.* London: Hansard. 1848.

THE extent, progress, and causes of crime in this country, have occupied, as they well deserve, a large share of public attention, and have been laboriously investigated by many able men. The criminal records of the nation have also been improved in their arrangement, and made to embrace information, other than the bare enumeration of offences, in classes and in counties, so as to throw light upon those social and educational conditions, which respectively conduce to, or repress, crime. For the last few years, two principal objects have been aimed at by those who have subjected the records of crime to searching analysis: First,—To ascertain the influence of education in counteracting crime; and Second,—To determine the influence of relaxed severity of punishment, on the ratio of the more serious offences against the laws. It is not our intention to allude further to the latter subject; but in the course of our

remarks, we shall have occasion, again and again, to refer to the conclusions which have been aimed at by several investigators, as to the former. The leading object of this class of inquirers, has been to determine what influence education has in the repression of crime. As a body, they have, for many years, advocated a national system of education, and laboriously sought to establish the proof of its necessity, by a demonstration of the co-extensiveness of crime and ignorance, in the several counties of England. The ratios of crime in particular districts are, of course, determinate and palpable things; but not so the ratios of ignorance. Various tests have been used to determine the latter. The signing of the marriage register, by marks, has been taken as a criterion of the degree of education, and although allowance has been made for disturbing elements, in cases where the marriage-mark test was at par, and the ratio of crime greatly discrepant, *on the whole*, considerable reliance has been placed on it; and, as we shall endeavour to show, far more reliance than can justly be so placed. Again, the degree of instruction amongst the criminals themselves, has been investigated for a similar purpose; and the conclusion drawn, that ignorance and crime are, —mathematically considered—equal quantities; —morally considered—cause and effect.

Now we are not about to enter into the question—of the connexion betwixt ignorance and crime, nor into the still more important question,—what is *that education* which will really counteract crime? It must suffice to say, that our judgment is clear and decided against the sufficiency of mere scholastic knowledge, as distinct from education, or to speak more definitely, moral training, to counteract the natural tendency of man's nature to certain indulgencies of the baser passions, and to furnish a defence against the thousand temptations to crime, which, more especially in great cities, assail the great mass, and most vehemently, the young. And apart from this conviction, we cannot but perceive, that gravely to take the very low qualifications of reading and writing, no matter in what ratios, as tests of the moral condition of particular sections of the population, is, apparently at least, to favour the idea that mere reading and writing have a moralizing influence. The ratios of crime and of ignorance, as to reading and writing, might be shown to be coincident; but that would still leave the problem unsolved,—what are the causes of crime?—because the ratios of reading and writing might only be, as we believe them to be, the accompaniment, or indication, of a certain moral condition of the people, and not the cause of that condition. Nor are we insensible that a conclusion may be established from a comparison



of the ratios of crime and of ignorance, (the ignorance of reading and writing,) most fatal to the conclusions of those who adopt the test.—

In 1805, 1811, 1821, and 1847, the ratios of crime to the population were, respectively, 1 in 1843, 1779, 877, and 610. But no sane man disputes that far fewer persons are ignorant of reading and writing now, than at any one of the other periods named. It is palpable that some other solution of the increased ratio of crime must be found, unless we are to adopt the *primâ facie* conclusion which the facts warrant,—*that knowledge and crime progress in equal ratios*. In short, we cannot but think that far too much attention has been paid to this branch of the inquiry, to the neglect of others, from which more important results are attainable; and though we willingly admit the great talent and patience with which the inquiry has been conducted, we must still express our dissatisfaction with its results, as explanations, either in whole, or in any principal degree, of the phenomena presented in the criminal tables of England. It will be our object in this article, to indicate, with somewhat more exactness than has already been done, the facts of the case, and to point out, not the causes so much, as the conditions or circumstances, under which crime is more or less developed in England. Before, however, we do this, we must correct some gross mistakes as to the progress of crime, which have long been current in the public mind, and have been sanctioned by men, from whom more accuracy of information might fairly have been expected. Thus, we have not unfrequently seen the statement, in print, that crime has increased six hundred per cent. since 1805; and nothing is so common, in the mouths of public men, when any question of public morals is the theme, as the lamentation over the alarming and frightful increase of crime. We will endeavour to give the true ratio of increase.—For this purpose, we have thrown the English counties into six groups, as follows:—five manufacturing, viz.—Chester, Lancaster, Stafford, Warwick, and York; three mining, viz.—Cornwall, Durham, and Monmouth; three metropolitan, viz.—Middlesex, Hertford, and Surrey; sixteen agricultural, viz.—Bedford, Berks, Bucks, Cumberland, Dorset, Essex, Hereford, Hunts, Kent, Lincoln, Northampton, Rutland, Suffolk, Sussex, Westmoreland, and Wilts; two collegiate, viz.—Cambridge and Oxford; and eleven mixed agricultural and manufacturing, viz.—Derby, Devon, Gloucester, Norfolk, Northumberland, Leicester, Notts, Salop, Somerset, Hants, and Worcester. We consider this grouping to be, on the whole, as fair as any other we have seen, but we shall have occasion to show, in the sequel, that it presents great anomalies; and that, in

fact, any grouping of counties, merely as manufacturing, or agricultural, or as both combined, with a view to arrive at any definite results, as to the mere influence of manufacturing or agricultural employments on the prevalence of crime, will only lead to false conclusions, unless other elements be largely allowed for. The following table shows the amount of crime in each of the groups mentioned, and in all England, and the ratio to population, at nine distinct periods. The actual population is taken for the years 1821, 1831, and 1841; the population for the other periods, is calculated according to the ratio of increase, for each group, in the preceding ten years, as shown by the census returns. Our object in dividing the six years, since 1841, into four distinct periods, will be explained afterwards.

TABLE I.

ENGLAND.	Average. 1820 to 1822		Average. 1825 to 1827.		Average. 1829 to 1833.		Average. 1835 to 1837.		Average. 1840 to 1842.	
Counties.	Total Crime.	Ratio of Crime to Pop- ulation	Total Crime.	Ratio of Crime to Pop- ulation	Total Crime.	Ratio of Crime to Pop- ulation	Total Crime.	Ratio of Crime to Pop- ulation	Total Crime.	Ratio of Crime to Pop- ulation
		1 in		1 in		1 in		1 in		1 in
5 Manufacturing.	3783	823	4748	722	5561	681	5967	695	9312	490
3 Mining .....	207	2594	324	2015	425	1535	535	1348	842	950
3 Metropolitan...	3234	517	4084	446	4651	429	4634	463	5048	438
16 Agricultural ...	2482	1111	3152	919	3916	780	4633	724	5571	602
2 Collegiate .....	231	1120	306	903	388	763	512	605	572	570
11 Mixed .....	2901	1007	3337	929	4207	785	5080	680	6757	553
All England .....	12,839	877	15,952	759	19,130	684	21,363	654	28,104	533

ENGLAND.	1843.		1845.		1844 to 1846.		1847.	
Counties.	Total Crime.	Ratio of Crime to Pop- ulation.	Total Crime.	Ratio of Crime to Pop- ulation.	Total Crime.	Ratio of Crime to Pop- ulation.	Total Crime.	Ratio of Crime to Pop- ulation.
		1 in		1 in		1 in		1 in
5 Manufacturing .	9219	515	6443	764	6877	718	8147	625
3 Mining .....	862	968	671	1297	780	1115	902	990
3 Metropolitan ...	5392	444	5626	437	5569	443	6781	374
16 Agricultural ...	5655	605	4696	745	4957	704	5400	655
2 Collegiate .....	585	568	548	612	548	622	554	621
11 Mixed.....	7038	525	5624	669	5898	639	6271	610
All England .....	28,751	536	23,608	671	24,630	644	28,055	574

The increase of crime for all England, betwixt the first and last periods, is about fifty-three per cent. If the first period, and 1844—6, be compared, it is thirty-eight per cent. ; but if the first period and 1845, be compared, it is only thirty-one per cent.

The per-centage shows, in each case, an actual increase in the ratio of crime, distinct from, and above, the ratio of increase in the population. But if 1829—1833, and 1845, be compared, the increase is not more than six per cent. The cycle, 1829—1833, comprehended a period, in which no disturbing element was at work, to increase, what we may be allowed to term, the *natural* tendency to crime; and the year 1845 was a similar period. But this comparison may be objected to, as too favourable. No objection, however, can lie against the average of 1844—6, the latter year being marked by considerable distress amongst the operative population. We exclude 1847, because it was, nearly throughout, a year of distress and privation.—For the same reason, we exclude 1840—2, a period of extraordinary suffering amongst the working classes; the closing year, in fact, being the last of a cycle of five years of almost uninterrupted bad harvests, and dear food; two circumstances, the influence of which on crime, we shall afterwards advert to. We shall not, however, confine the comparison to the periods betwixt 1821 and 1845. We shall carry it back to 1805. In that year, the ratio of crime to population for the several sections of counties, and for all England, was as follows—

5 Manufacturing Counties	.....	1 in 2292.
3 Mining	„	..... 1 in 4294.
3 Metropolitan	„	..... 1 in 812.
16 Agricultural	„	..... 1 in 2192.
2 Collegiate	„	..... 1 in 2550.
11 Mixed	„	..... 1 in 2299.
All England	.....	1 in 1843.
Wales	.....	1 in 3941.

The following table will exhibit the increase of the population, and of crime, respectively, betwixt 1805 and 1821, and betwixt 1821 and 1845, with the excess or deficiency of crime, in each period, as compared with the population.—



Counties.	Increase of Popu- lation. 1801 to 1821.	Increase of Crime 1805 to 1821.	Excess of Crime 1805 to 1821.	Increase of Popu- lation. 1821 to 1831.	Increase of Crime 1821 to 1831.	Excess of Crime	Increase of Popu- lation. 1831 to 1845.	Increase of Crime 1831 to 1845.	Increase of Crime	decrease of Crime
5 Manufacturing	43·5	300	256·5	21·6	47	25·4	28·6	23·6		5.
3 Mining .....	36·2	102·5	66·3	21·5	100·5	79	30·8	80·5	49·7	
3 Metropolitan.	41·2	121·5	80·3	19	43	24	23	21·7		1·3
16 Agricultural.	29·7	152·4	122·7	10·9	58	47·1	13·7	25·6	11·9	
2 Collegiate ..	30	200	170	14·8	74	59·2	14	42·9	28·9	
11 Mixed .....	29·5	195	165·5	13·1	45	31·9	13·7	40·3	26·6	
All England..	35·2	183	147·8	16	49	33	20·3	28·7	8·4	

Here, then, we have the exact measure of the increase of crime—that is,—

Manufacturing Counties, 1805 to 1845	..	276·9.
Mining	..	195.
Metropolitan	..	103.
Agricultural	..	181·7.
Collegiate	..	258·1.
Mixed	..	224.
All England	..	189·2.

It is foreign to our purpose to inquire into the cause or causes of this *still* enormous increase of crime, betwixt 1805 and 1821, and also betwixt 1821 and 1831. The more rapid increase of crime than population, by 147·8 per cent. in the one period, and of thirty-three per cent. in the other, suggests grave questions, *if* the increase be the consequence of a more depraved condition of the national morals. We are free to express our entire doubt that the phenomena are referable to that cause. We suspect the increase is more nominal than real, and is, in a great measure, attributable to an improved police, and the consequent more frequent detection of offences; conjoined with several other circumstances, which we may not stay to describe minutely. Of this we are quite certain, that the universal judgment of men who have lived through the period, 1805 to 1845, is unmistakeably against the conclusion, which, taken by themselves, the criminal returns would establish; that is, a rapid and large deterioration of the national character. On the contrary, we never met with a man on whose judgment and observation we could rely, who did not testify to the striking improvement in the whole deportment and conduct of the mass of the population, betwixt the two periods. Be this, however, as it may, there is no gainsaying the fact, that the rate of progress in crime has undergone a wonderful *retardation*, since 1831. 8·4 per

cent. in fifteen years, contrasts marvellously with thirty-three per cent. in the ten years, 1821 to 1831; and 147·8 per cent., in the sixteen years from 1805 to 1821. At this rate, 1851 will show a positive decrease in the ratio, as compared with 1831, *on all England*; as 1845 already does, for the manufacturing and metropolitan districts.

We will now show the relative proportion of crime in the forty counties of England, and from this statement, shall endeavour to evolve the circumstances, or conditions of each, which determine those ratios.

For reasons already stated, we consider the year 1845, as offering the most accurate portraiture of the *natural* intensity of crime in each county. The following table exhibits the ratio of crime to population in each, and we append to it, for purposes to be explained, the per centage of population to one hundred statute acres in 1841, the proportion of the agricultural classes to the total population, and the proportion of males married, on the average of 1839 to 1845, who signed the marriage register with marks.—

TABLE II.

No.	County.	Ratio of Crime to Pop- ulation, 1845. 1 in	Proportion to 100 Statute Acres. 1841.	Population of Agricultural Classes to Total Popula- tion, 1841.	Males signing Marriage Register with Marks. Average, 1839 to 1845.
1	Durham - - -	1766	46.2	4.4	25
2	Derby - - -	1563	41.4	7.1	30
3	Cumberland - -	1538	18.3	8.8	16
4	Northumberland -	1387	20.9	6.9	19
5	Cornwall - - -	1319	39.8	7.9	36
6	Westmoreland -	1240	11.6	11.6	20
7	York - - -	1197	57	6.4	34
8	Lincoln - - -	990	21.7	15.9	32
9	Nottingham - -	978	46.7	8.2	34
10	Dorset - - -	835	27.2	10.9	34
11	Salop - - -	794	27.8	11.7	42
12	Rutland - - -	791	22.3	15.6	31
13	Suffolk - - -	791	32.5	13.9	46
14	Monmouth - - -	780	42.3	6.5	51
15	Stafford - - -	773	67.4	5.7	43
16	Devon - - -	763	32.2	10.2	28
17	Sussex - - -	760	31.9	11.9	30
18	Bedford - - -	731	36.4	13.8	51
19	Cambridge - - -	725	28.1	13.9	46
20	Wilts - - -	703	29.6	14.1	44
21	Kent - - -	702	55	8.7	29
22	Hunts - - -	690	24.6	14.5	45
23	Northampton - -	687	30.6	12.9	38
24	Leicester - - -	686	41.9	7.9	33
25	Hertford - - -	667	39	12.8	51
26	Surrey - - -	665	120	4.4	36
27	Norfolk - - -	655	31.9	12.2	44
28	Berks - - -	644	33.5	13.2	41
29	Essex - - -	643	35.2	14.8	47
30	Lancaster - - -	637	147.5	6.7	39
31	Chester - - -	615	58.8	6.7	36
32	Bucks - - -	580	33	14	43
33	Warwick - - -	561	70	6	32
34	Oxford - - -	534	33.4	12.9	35
35	Somerset - - -	514	41.4	10.2	37
36	Hereford - - -	509	20.6	14.6	38
37	Southampton - -	502	34.1	10	31
38	Gloucester - - -	482	53.6	7.2	29
39	Worcester - - -	431	50.4	10.1	45
40	Middlesex - - -	376	873.6	1.1	12
	All England - -	671	43	7.7	33



This table appears to us perfectly decisive, as respects the educational test of the marriage register mark, and the alleged superiority, as to moral condition, of the agricultural counties. Middlesex, with 12 marriage marks, presents a ratio of 1 criminal to 376 persons; whilst Durham, with 25 marks, has a ratio of only 1 in 1766! Derby, with 30 marks, has a ratio of 1 in 1563; and Cornwall, with 36 marks, has 1 in 1319! The irrelevance of this test is indeed quite demonstrable, independent of the proofs now offered. It is undeniable, that it is the poorer classes who furnish the criminal calendar with its melancholy numbers. It is obvious, then, that the marriage test can only be of value, as it shows the relative amount of education in that particular section of the population of each county. But if a particular county has a larger number of the propertied and educated classes, in proportion to the poorer and uneducated classes, than another county, the former will show fewer *marks*; though it may be quite true, that, class for class, the education of the latter is equal to it. No one doubts that Middlesex has a far larger proportion of educated and wealthy persons in its population, than Durham, and yet Middlesex shows 1 criminal to 376 of its population, against 1 in 1766 in Durham. Take another instance. Gloucester has a more educated population than Lincoln; but Gloucester has 1 criminal for 482 of its population, and Lincoln only 1 for 990!

The supposed moral tendency of agricultural, over manufacturing employment, is equally disproved by the table. Worcester has a proportion of 10·1 agriculturalists, and Nottingham only 8·2; but the ratio of crime in the former is 431, and in the latter, 978. Nay, worse. Hereford, with 14·6 proportion of agriculture, has a criminal ratio of 509; whilst Kent, with 8·7, has only 1 in 702. The table furnishes many other proofs of our position in these two points. It will be asked, and we do not shrink from the question, 'how then do you account for the vast discrepancies in crime, betwixt counties agreeing in the ratio of marriage marks, and of agricultural population? or for the fact that counties, differing in these particulars, agree in the ratio of crime?' We think the table suggests the explanation; not an exact one, we freely acknowledge, but harmonizing more anomalies than any we have yet seen.

We are inclined, then, to give the first place, in the order of circumstances or conditions of society, *tending to crime*, to the density of a town or city population. Let us see how this condition or circumstance is borne out by the table. Setting aside Yorkshire, which is a case *per se*, as we shall show in the sequel,—the first county in the list, which has a large city population, is Surrey, and that stands No. 26, with a ratio of

crime within 6 of the average of England. Then come the following:—

Lancaster,—Crime.	637.....	No.	30
Warwick	“ 561.....	“	33
Somerset	“ 514.....	“	35
Southampton	“ 502.....	“	37
Gloucester	“ 482.....	“	38
Middlesex	“ 376.....	“	40

The City population of these counties, *pro rata* to the rest of the population, is greater than that of any other counties in England. The influence of a city population on the ratio of crime is easily shown in the case of Gloucestershire. That county includes the sea-port of Bristol, and it so happens, that up to 1831, the criminal returns for that city are given separately from the rest of the county. Now, the average of the county for 1821 and 1831, respectively, was—713 and 574; but the average of Bristol city was—550 and 507! Our position may be illustrated by contrast. Leaving out York, the first 14 counties on the list, having the smallest ratio of crime, have either a scattered population, or an isolated position. They have no great cities, if we except Northumberland (and Newcastle is neutralized by a low ratio of inhabitants to the acre throughout the county), and they have a very limited intercourse with the rest of England. The exceptions from the rule, Hertford, Essex, and Kent, with small city populations, are vitiated by their proximity to the Metropolis; and not only is the total ratio of crime high in these counties, but the ratio of the more serious offences is high also. For a similar reason, Sussex, Cambridge, and Oxford, show a high ratio of crime. They each contain rich, voluptuous, and we fear, somewhat profligate cities.

It surely needs no formal proof, that education and morals being alike, there will be the most offences where the greatest wealth and luxury are in juxtaposition with the greatest density of population. The invitations to crime, their number, power, and seductiveness, to say nothing of the greater opportunity for its concealment, are in the direct ratio of the density and wealth of the population. Nay, more. Great cities invite all the scum and off-scourings of society to nestle within them. These find hiding-places there, and there they find their prey. The collisions of angry passions are more frequent, too, of very necessity; and the man, who in Cumberland or Durham, may pass from one week or month to another, without an occasion to ruffle his temper, or arouse the ‘lurking devil’ within, may find opportunities of quarrel every day, if he be not on his guard, in the bustling intercourse of city life. We need not

argue so plain a matter. The increased ratio of crime, so much of it as is not due to an improved police, is unquestionably the price we have to pay for our growth in wealth and luxury, and in the splendour and magnitude of the imperial metropolis, and its satellites—Liverpool, Manchester, Birmingham, Bristol, Portsmouth, and Brighton.

Our position will be strengthened by reference to the county of York. We have said it is a case *per se*. But we must be understood. We do not mean that its position in the scale of crime is anomalous, or irreconcilable with our theory. On the contrary, it proves our case, on one admission, that Yorkshire is one of the most intelligent and moral counties of England. The proportion of the population engaged in trade, is only second to Lancashire, which is the highest in England. That would lead us to expect a high ratio of crime. Nor does it affect this fact much, that it contains the East and North Ridings, which are mainly agricultural. The average of agriculturists is still only 6.4—*lower than Chester*, or Lancashire. But then Yorkshire has no seaport at all corresponding in magnitude to Liverpool, or Bristol, or Portsmouth, and we well know how much the dissoluteness of seaports adds to the proportion of crime. Neither has Yorkshire any overgrown towns. It has many large towns, but no vast cities, and it has been established, on indisputable proof, that the West Riding has greater appliances, religious and educational, than almost *any other* county in the kingdom. As to its intelligence and public virtue, we need only name the fact, that Yorkshire has ever *spoken first*, on every great question, save one—The Slave Trade, Slavery itself, Catholic Disabilities, Parliamentary Corruption, received from it the first and heaviest blow; and if Protection was first denounced from Lancashire, Yorkshire answered with the shout of a giant, to the war-cry of the rival rose—Free Trade!

Another fruitful source of crime, we firmly believe, is the immigration of the miserable people of the sister island. Far be it from us to cast a stone in malice at that unhappy race; but it is too consistent with all we know of their physical and moral condition, to judge *a priori*, that just as they preponderate in any given locality, crime will be proportionately increased. Facts, stubborn facts, confirm the *a priori* conclusion. The 13th report of the Inspectors of Prisons, gives most convincing evidence on this point. The Governor of Liverpool Prison, states, p. 15, that ‘In the three months ending Nov. 30, 1846, the number of Irish committed to prison was 818, or 35 per cent. of the whole, and in the three months just ended (Nov. 30, 1847) 1129, or 42 per cent.’

Further he says—



‘If, to the number of those coming direct from Ireland, be added those born in England, of Irish parents, three-fourths of our prisoners are generally Irish. The proportion of Irish prisoners has been rapidly increasing for the last three years. Three years ago, the number of prisoners in the year, who were born in Ireland, was 1439, out of 4932, or less than thirty per cent.; but last year it was 2680, out of 6769, or forty per cent. Thus, out of a total increase of 1837 prisoners in three years, 1241 were Irish. The portion which the Irish form of the whole population of Liverpool, is less than *half their share* of the criminality of the town, in petty and in serious offences alike. During the last three years, the number of felonies committed in Liverpool, *by Lancashire people, was actually diminished, notwithstanding the increase of the population*; but the felonies committed by the Irish have more than doubled, having increased from 108, in the year 1843—4, to 222 in the year 1846—7”

The table of county or country of birth, appended to the Report of Kirkdale Prison, gives 364 Irish, against 628 born in Lancashire, and against a total of 1197. Captain Willis, Superintendent of Police at Manchester, states, that one fourth of the offenders in that borough are Irish. In round numbers, the Irish-born inhabitants of Manchester, are as 30,000 to 208,000, little more than one seventh. Captain Willis also states, that ‘some of the worst part of the population, and that which contributes most to the class of reputed thieves and prostitutes, are of Irish parentage.’ We may only mention another fact. A barrister, connected with the northern circuit, ascertained that out of 126 prisoners at one assizes in York, twenty-seven were Irish, or twenty-five per cent.; and that out of twenty-nine serious offences, nineteen, or 66 per cent., were committed by Irishmen. Of the serious offences, eight were murder, and six of these, or seventy-five per cent., were committed by Irishmen.

Coupling these statements with the fact that Lancashire, Middlesex, and Cheshire, have by far the largest proportion of native Irish in their population, besides a large proportion descended from Irish parents, we are satisfied that in addition to the cause already named—the preponderance of a city population—these counties stand where they do, high in the scale of crime, very much because of this vitiating element, of a large Irish population.

All explanation of the increase of crime would, however, be imperfect, if reference be not made to the *character* of crimes, as well as their number, and the influence of violent and extreme fluctuations in the price of food and the employment of the people.

That the more serious offences are far less prevalent than during the last century and the early part of the present, is an unquestioned fact. The number of executions, apart from any

reference to the mitigation of punishment in general, are decisive on that point. But we have few data on which reliance can be placed, for the purpose of an *exact* comparison, except since 1834, in which year a new classification of offences was adopted in the criminal returns, as follows:—

Class 1.—Offences against the person ; such as murder, shooting at, with intent to maim, manslaughter, rape, and assault.

Class 2.—Offences against property, committed *with violence* ; such as burglary, housebreaking, and robberies.

Class 3.—Offences against property, committed *without violence* ; such as cattle and horse stealing, larceny, &c., &c.

Class 4.—Malicious offences against property ; such as setting fire to houses or crops, riot, and destruction of machinery, killing and maiming cattle, &c.

Class 5.—Forgery and offences against the country ; high treason, game offences, prison breaking, riot, &c., &c.

Class 6.—Other offences.

The following table exhibits the number or proportion of each of these six classes of offences, to the population for the time being, in the sections of counties, as per table on page 658, and for five periods since 1834.

TABLE III.

Counties.	CLASS 1.					CLASS 2.				
	Average	Average	1843.	Average	1847.	Average	Average	1843.	Average	1847.
	1834 to 1836.	1840 to 1842.		1844 to 1846.		1834 to 1836.	1840 to 1842.		1844 to 1846.	
	1 in					1 in				
3 Manufacturing...	10·021	8·242	6·781	8·726	9·257	13·786	6·016	4·777	10·293	8·136
3 Mining .....	11·453	10·255	6·095	9·670	9·607	30·064	17·755	14·154	22·926	17·519
3 Metropolitan.....	4·406	5·450	5·401	4·098	4·727	10·676	9·899	8·928	11·276	10·609
16 Agricultural .....	8·481	8·477	7·963	9·163	9·668	8·200	8·413	6·264	10·119	11·098
2 Collegiate .....	5·741	9·881	6·396	7·707	13·233	8·379	7·583	5·734	9·689	11·099
11 Mixed .....	7·861	7·514	6·404	9·027	9·920	9·323	8·029	6·645	9·365	9·247
40										
All England ...	7·218	7·588	6·594	7·522	8·242	10·552	7·701	6·216	10·416	9·674
Wales .....	15·259	12·661	10·392	14·313	18·455	29·467	19·395	19·485	16·254	17·160

TABLE III—CONTINUED.

Counties.	CLASS 3.					CLASS 4.				
	Average 1834 to 1836.	Average 1840 to 1842.	1843.	Average 1844 to 1846.	1847.	Average 1834 to 1836.	Average 1840 to 1842.	1843.	Average 1844 to 1846.	1847.
	1 in					1 in				
5 Manufacturing ...	·896	·652	·712	·910	·777	165·990	89 537	84 886	190·032	124·234
3 Mining .....	1·812	1·238	1·401	1·529	1·302	80·171	199·979	278·370	87·030	148·916
3 Metropolitan.....	·597	·570	·555	·562	·449	157·388	330·971	478·592	164 627	253·618
16 Agricultural .....	·912	·747	·792	·881	·738	68·044	88·343	55·226	40 130	57·145
2 Collegiate .....	·805	·716	·742	·809	·733	62·005	81 525	55·437	22 609	28·673
11 Mixed .....	·884	·677	·678	·785	·799	86·471	95·503	55·249	58·973	84 325
40										
All England ...	·844	·680	·706	·814	·706	98·464	104 861	77·537	72·442	91 225
Wales .....	3·073	1·947	1·964	1·985	1·632	213 638	227 900	11·691	63 933	122 268
	CLASS 5.					CLASS 6.				
5 Manufacturing...	55·330	24·160	49·806	41·870	32·651	10·949	6·032	8·901	19·150	24·488
3 Mining .....	60·128	66·659	41·755	66·946	64·458	25·768	14·284	17·768	15·005	17·182
3 Metropolitan.....	13 247	15·443	12·661	14·357	12·876	12·124	13 390	13·294	14 440	16 471
16 Agricultural .....	57·108	41·444	41·255	50 598	51·050	14·026	20·722	16·000	20·065	18·860
2 Collegiate .....	77·506	32 610	41·578	56·524	57·349	11·924	12·077	25·586	13·044	34·408
11 Mixed .....	45·511	45·364	31·911	51·004	52·083	14·533	11·821	14·075	32·333	29·513
40										
All England ...	36 129	29·062	23·521	31·914	31·469	12·687	10·131	12·334	19 276	21·737
Wales .....	122·078	60·773	77·942	106·556	108·683	22·488	20·718	6·972	17·759	19·962

Considering 1847 to be an exceptional year, on account of the prevailing distress, we may place in juxtaposition the ratio of each class of offences in 1834-6, and in 1844-6 respectively, for all England.

1834-6.	1844-6.
Class 1.—1 in 7,218.	1 in 7,522.
„ 2.—1 in 10,552.	1 in 10,416.
„ 3.—1 in 844.	1 in 814.
„ 4.—1 in 98,464.	1 in 72,442.
„ 5.—1 in 36,129.	1 in 34,944.
„ 6.—1 in 12,687.	1 in 19,276.

The first, which is the most important class, shows a small, and the last a large *decrease*. The other four shows an *increase*; class 3 alone exhibiting a high ratio. This class, it will be observed, is that of 'offences against property, committed without violence,' and the increase in this class, betwixt 1834-6, and



1844-6, consists entirely in the specific item of 'simple larcenies,' the number being 7,756 for all England in the former period, and 8,465 in the latter. Now, as the first table shows that the ratios of all offences to the total population at these periods, were respectively, 1 in 654, and 1 in 644, or about one and a half per cent. increase, it is clear that we must look for the source of that increase in class 3, and that, in fact, classes 1 and 6 will show a lower per centage to the total of crimes, and classes 2, 4, and 5, a slight increase in that ratio. We give the proportions each year, from 1836 to 1847.—Class 1 shows a proportion of 9·2 in 1836, and only an average of 8 in 1844-6.

TABLE IV.

*Relative Proportions of the Six Classes of Crime, in Centesimal Parts, in the following Years.*

Years	Class I.	Ratio to Totals of Offen- ces.	Class 2.	Ratio to Totals of Crime	Class 3.	Ratio to Totals of Crime	Class 4.	Ratio to Totals of Crime	Class 5.	Ratio to Totals of Crime	Class 6.	Ratio to Totals of Crime	Total Offences for all England	100
1836	1956	9·2	1310	6·2	16·167	77·4	168	·8	359	1·6	1024	4·8	20 984	100
1837	1719	7·2	1400	5·9	18·8 4	80·1	114	·5	456	1·9	1039	4·4	23 612	100
1838	1859	8·0	1538	6·7	18·278	79·1	89	·4	503	2·2	827	3 6	23 094	100
1839	2009	8·2	1432	5·9	19·243	78·7	105	·4	436	1·8	1218	5	24 443	100
1840	1881	6·9	1934	7·1	21·484	79·1	145	5	541	2·0	1202	4·4	27 187	100
1841	2140	7·7	1873	6·8	22·017	79·3	94	·3	437	1·6	1199	4·3	27 760	100
1842	2127	6·8	2178	6·9	23·995	76·7	201	·6	634	2·1	2174	6 9	31 309	100
1843	2431	8·2	2530	8 6	22·298	75 5	279	·9	668	2·2	1385	4 6	29 591	100
1844	2306	7·7	1759	6·6	20·425	78	347	1·3	548	2	1157	4·4	26 542	100
1845	1966	8·1	1471	6	19·506	80 3	149	·6	438	1·8	773	3·2	24 303	100
1846	2249	9·0	1507	6	20·075	79 8	209	·8	406	1·6	701	2 8	25 107	100
1847	2023	7·2	1732	6	23·571	81·7	186	·7	525	1·7	796	2 7	28 833	100

Class 6 shows an average of 4·8 in the former, against 3·5 in the latter periods, whilst class 3 shows an increase from 77·4, to 79·4.

A more distinct idea of the proportion of the principal classes of crime, will be conveyed by the following table, in which the actual number of each, for four periods, is given.

TABLE V.

*Numbers of the Principal Crimes, under Classes 1, 2, and 3, in the under-mentioned Years in England.*

	1834—6. Average.	1843.	1844—6. Average.	1847.
CLASS I.				
Murder, and Attempts at Murder attended with grievous bodily harm - - -	79	97	89	72
Attempts at Murder, unattended with grievous bodily harm - - -		23	14	23
Shooting at, Stabbing, etc.	137	219	182	221
Manslaughter - - -	206	258	191	234
Foul Offences - - -	104	144	133	165
Rape, and Attempts at Rape, etc. - - -	187	292	275	233
Assaults - - -	832	742	790	672
Ditto on Police - - -	508	464	346	314
—				
CLASS 2.				
Burglary- - -	262	839	427	457
Housebreaking - - -	512	769	557	671
Office ditto - - -	159	315	195	232
Other Robberies - - -	426	580	372	402
—				
CLASS 3.				
Cattle and Horse Stealing -	444	644	404	291
Larceny in Dwelling House -	174	204	186	134
Ditto from the Person -	1592	1676	1754	1142
Ditto by Servants - - -	890	1434	1367	1272
Ditto Simple - - -	11·511	15·977	14·238	16·524
Other Offences against Property - - -	1471	2363	1938	1498

Taken either together or separately, the last two tables establish the gratifying fact of an actual diminution of the more serious offences, during the last ten years pro rata to population, and that four fifths of all the crimes belong to the class of 'offences against property, without violence.' The latter fact, whilst it greatly narrows the scope of our public reformatory appliances, is suggestive of the appropriate remedies and preventives.

We may not go minutely into the analysis of the six great classes of crime, in order to show the ratio of their prevalence in particular counties. Our third table, gives the ratios of these in the respective groups of counties. We may point out a few of the more marked and important features of that table.

In the class of offences against the person, the manufacturing and mining counties show an increased, but fluctuating ratio throughout. The metropolitan and agricultural counties, a diminished ratio, with one exception. The collegiate, a largely diminished ratio throughout, and the mixed counties a considerable diminution on the whole, with the exception of 1843. In every instance but one (that one the metropolitan), 1843 exhibits the highest ratio of this class of offences, and the same remark applies to the next class of offences. This class forms the connecting link betwixt the more atrocious, and the merely venial offences. It embraces the burglar, the house-breaker, and the highwayman, and combines in the character of too many of the offenders, dishonesty, brutality, and a reckless disregard of life. The table shows this class to be an increasing one on the whole, and largely in the two first groups of districts. Class 3—'Offences against Property, without Violence,' shows a larger increase than class 2, and a very marked and rapid increase in the ratio, comparing 1834-6 with the two next periods, and 1844-6 with 1847. The solution of this increase will be offered when we come to notice the effects of bad harvests, on the general ratio of crime. The other classes may be dismissed with the remark, that malicious offences are the most rife in the agricultural sections of the kingdom, and are happily least prevalent where the consequences of such crimes would be most disastrous. It is, indeed, a remarkable fact, that crimes of this class are rare in the great seats of manufactures and commerce; partly, we believe, because there is a more intelligent perception of the ultimate consequences of such crimes to themselves, in the bulk of the manufacturing operatives; and even more, because of a higher moral restraint, combined with a kindly feeling, *on the whole*, betwixt the employers and the employed.

It would compel us to enter into great minuteness of detail, were we to place the several groups of counties in comparison with each other, as to the prevalence of *particular crimes* in each of the six great divisions or classes of offences. Such an analysis would shew, as might be expected, that some crimes are almost peculiar to particular localities, just because the locality



affords an opportunity for their commission. For instance, the firing of crops and barns, and game offences, form a large item in the list of crimes committed in agricultural counties, and a comparatively insignificant one in the metropolitan and manufacturing counties. In any comparison, crimes only must be taken, to the commission of which there are equal inducements and facilities in the counties compared. We are aware this is a narrow class, and that in fact, it is difficult to institute such a comparison at all, betwixt a manufacturing and an agricultural county, because of the greater frequency and intensity of the incentives to crime, in the former class of counties. Probably, however, the comparison is as fair, with respect to the more atrocious offences against the person, as any other, and also with respect to certain classes of larceny. The following abstract exhibits, *in thousandth parts*, the ratio of offences, of the classes named, to every 10,000 persons, in each of the groups of counties.

	5 Manufacturing Counties.			3 Mining Counties.			16 Agricultural Counties.			3 Metropolitan Counties.			11 Mixed Counties.		
	1836.	1843.	1845.	1836.	1843.	1845.	1836.	1843.	1845.	1836.	1843.	1845.	1836.	1843.	1845.
Murder .....	57	76	44	55	48	26	43	49	54	23	59	56	83	54	61
Shooting at with intent to maim, etc. ....	74	149	103	55	155	126	84	76	88	112	129	158	112	154	95
Manslaughter ..	171	250	143	110	118	76	112	105	90	121	71	105	138	162	116
Foul Offences ..	30	69	38	41	36	30	66	96	97	200	125	146	53	110	95
Rape .....	137	176	168	97	236	206	153	172	172	116	142	150	135	232	172
Assaults .....	339	347	313	264	538	287	418	345	255	1672	1012	1459	450	364	339
Ditto on Police ..	272	242	220	264	370	149	446	277	232	299	200	239	381	340	148
Larceny in Dwelling Houses ..	72	90	80	125	46	22	65	58	63	353	380	396	104	97	47
Ditto by Servants.	597	833	785	55	118	137	456	897	854	1637	1841	1805	352	656	761

In all those crimes which are the result of ungovernable passion, malignant dispositions, or brutal appetites, there is unhappily, a general uniformity shewn by the table; though on the whole, these offences are most rife in the metropolitan and mixed counties,—and more especially in the sexual class of crimes. It will be observed, that under the head ‘assaults,’ the manufacturing counties take the first place, and the metropolitan the last; and that assaults on the police are most numerous in the agricultural, and semi-agricultural counties. We are not surprised at the position of the manufacturing counties, in this branch of social morality. The congregating of men in large masses, under the eye of intelligent overlookers and em-

ployers, and in contact with the middle and upper classes of our large towns, has a powerful influence, in softening the manners of the operative classes, and superinducing habits of order and deference to authority; and it is well known that the artizan and factory population of the towns, what with the necessity of kindness and good temper, in the prosecution of work which demands the co-operation of many hands and wills, and what with the closer social intercourse,—the union in clubs, and sick societies, etc., live on terms of good brotherhood, and the interchange of mutual kindnesses. It is a vulgar error to impute to them, as is sometimes done in parliament, rude and boisterous habits, contempt of authority, and mutual distrust, and alienation.

The class of 'Offences against Property, with Violence,' show, as might be expected, a considerable preponderance in 'Office Breaking,' in the manufacturing districts. The comparative infrequency of that form of crime in the metropolis, seems to testify to the excellence of its police. In the other classes, it is remarkable, that in burglaries, house-breaking, and 'other robberies,' the agricultural and semi-agricultural counties occupy a lower position than the manufacturing, as the following table will show.

	5 Manufacturing Counties.			3 Mining Counties.			16 Agricultural Counties.			3 Metropolitan Counties.			11 Mixed Counties.		
	1836.	1843.	1845.	1836.	1843.	1845.	1836.	1843.	1845.	1836.	1843.	1845.	1836.	1843.	1845.
Burglary . . . .	95	766	242	41	177	45	259	473	249	271	472	292	190	408	279
House Breaking	212	440	244	165	263	57	400	678	335	350	351	268	485	508	416
Office ditto . . .	156	416	191	14	23	15	112	96	90	70	71	78	86	140	116
Other Robberies	262	437	283	138	227	114	346	342	240	303	225	243	341	429	252

We will only add the details of three other classes of larceny, (two having been already given) as illustrating the intensity of this class of offences in the city population of the nation, where professional and habitual thieves abound, because there they find shelter and concealment, as well as the opportunity to carry on their warfare against society.

	5 Manufacturing Counties.			3 Mining Counties.			16 Agricultural Counties.			3 Metropolitan Counties.			11 Mixed Counties.		
	1836.	1843.	1845.	1836.	1843.	1845.	1836.	1843.	1845.	1836.	1843.	1845.	1836.	1843.	1845.
Larceny from Person . . . . .	1173	1317	1137	236	450	321	684	625	587	3725	2050	2623	699	710	718
Ditto Simple ..	8040	9888	7712	4083	7328	5287	7462	9421	8418	10832	11464	10834	7638	11248	9631
Other Offences against Property . . . . .	1002	1633	1135	375	886	609	843	1096	954	1711	2121	1967	919	1462	1135

In all comparisons betwixt county and county, or groups of counties, it is necessary to bear in mind an important principle, developed by Mr. Neison, in the very elaborate and masterly contribution to the 'Statistical Journal,' the title of which appears at the head of this article. It is this: that the tendency to crime is greatest at the period of life from twenty to twenty-five. The ratio of criminals to population, he gives as under, at the ages specified.

Under 15 years .....	·494
15 to 20 years ....	·6841
20 25 „ ....	·7702
25 30 „ ....	·5989
30 40 „ ....	·3794
40 50 „ ....	·2504
50 60 „ ....	·1694
60 and upwards ....	·813

It is obvious, that wherever there is a preponderance of persons of the ages fifteen to thirty, there, all other things being alike, crime will be most rife. The difference in the number of persons at those ages, comparing the manufacturing with the agricultural population, is considerable. Taking Mr. Neison's data, as to the per centage of persons at these ages in the five manufacturing, and the sixteen agricultural counties, we find that if the latter are brought to par, as to relative numbers at the ages fifteen to thirty, the ratio of crime would be increased from 1 in 654, to 1 in 617, that of the manufacturing districts being, 1 in 625. Mr. Neison also shews that the different ratios of females in a given population, materially affects the ratio of crime, and thus another disturbing element has to be allowed for, before any accurate scale of relative intensity of crime can be established betwixt different counties, or groups of counties. Mr. Neison has grouped the counties of England according to the ratios of persons engaged in trade and in agriculture, and of educational attainment,—respectively; and on page 265 'Statistical Journal,' 1846, he has given the counties in alphabetical order, and exhibited the excess or deficiency of *actual crime*, as compared with the average of England. We have arranged the counties in the order of precedence, the county of least crime standing as No. 1., the same as in our table, (page 652). The two tables exhibit some striking agreements as to the position of counties in the order of crime,—but there are also several wide discrepancies. We should give the two in juxtaposition, but it would require more space than we can afford in explanation; and we are compelled to say, that the comparison and



grouping of counties in Mr. Neison's excellent paper, loses much of its value, from the selection of the years 1842-3-4, as the basis of his calculations. The relative ratios of crime were greatly deranged in those years; the ratio of crime in the manufacturing districts being far more affected by the prolonged distress, than that of the agricultural districts. It is only necessary to place in juxtaposition, the respective ratios of crime in those two groups of counties, before, and after the periods selected by Mr. Neison, to perceive that any conclusions as to the relative intensity of crime in each, *under ordinary conditions*, must be incorrect.—

	1829 to 1833.	1840 to 1842.	1843.	1844—6.
Manufacturing Districts, ratio of crime, 1 in . . . . .	681	490	515	718
Agricultural ditto, 1 in . . . . .	780	602	605	704

The fact is, that neither Mr. Neison, nor any other of the contributors to the 'Statistical Journal,' have given that weight to the effect of variation in the supply and price of food, which is due to it. The free-traders, in the time of the League agitation, did indeed draw attention to the fact of the coincidence of bad harvests and increased crime; but it is characteristic of persons accustomed to the *exact* demonstration of statistical science, to hesitate in accrediting conclusions drawn from general observation, or based on abstract principles of political economy. Yet we cannot but think, that *the fact* stood out unmistakeably in our entire criminal records, *that dear food and increased crime go hand in hand, and are in fact, though precisely in what mode we will not dogmatically say—cause and effect.* We shall be glad to see Mr. Danson directing his attention to this subject, with the same ability as is shown by him in his contribution to the May number of the 'Statistical Journal.' Mean time, we may be allowed to jot down a few memoranda, bearing on the matter in question.

The mere fact that years of dear food and increased crime are coincident, is established by a reference to the criminal tables from 1805 to 1837. We will give illustrations, by a statement of the price of corn, and the total amount of crime, in years of scarcity, contrasted with the preceding and following years of plenty.

			Crime.	Price of Wheat per quarter.
First period.	{	1805 Dear year	4,605	89/9
		1806 Cheap year	4,346	79/1
		1807 Cheap year	4,446	75/4

		Crime.	Price of Wheat per Quarter.
Second Period	1811	Cheap year 5,337	95/3
	1812	Dear year 6,576	126/6
	1813	Dear year 7,164	109/9
	1814	Cheap year 6,390	74/4
Third Period.	1816	Cheap year 9,091	78/6
	1817	Dear year 13,932	96/11
	1818	Cheap year 13,567	86/3

The marriages for the same years attest the pressure on the condition of the mass of the population. They are as under:—

		Marriages.
First Period.	1804	Cheap year 171,476.
	1805	Dear year 159,172.
	1806	Cheap year 161,508.
	1807	Cheap year 167,846.
Second Period	1811	Cheap year 172,778.
	1812	Dear year 164,132.
	1813	Dear year 167,720.
	1814	Cheap year 185,608.
Third Period.	1816	Cheap year 183,892.
	1817	Dear year 176,478.
	1818	Cheap year 185,558.

Here, then, we have dear food, coincident with increased crime and diminished marriages. But we must complete the demonstration of coincidence, before we draw any conclusion from the facts. We now give the same particulars, for that eventful period in the history, alike of the working classes and of the Corn Laws, commencing in 1838, and terminating in 1844.

Years.	Price of Wheat per quarter.	Total of Crime.	Marriages.
1838	57/10	23,094	236,134
1839	71/ 8	24,443	246,332
1840	68/	27,187	245,330
1841	63/ 6	27,760	244,992
1842	63/ 4	31,309	237,650
1843	49/ 4	29,591	247,636
1844	53/ 9	26,542	264,498
1845	46/ 7	24,303	287,486

With a continuance of scarcity and dearness of food, crime rose from 23,094, in 1838, to 31,309, in 1842; whilst the mar-

riages returned in 1842, after a partial rise in 1839, and a stationary condition in 1840 and 1841, to the level of 1838. But with a return of abundance and cheapness, crime fell in 1845 to the level of 1839; whilst marriages rose no less than 50,000! By whatever mode of action on the morals of the masses, the pinching of dear food, and the repression of the ability to marry, produce the results now established, matters little. The result is utterly inexplicable on any other supposition than the one we have advanced; namely, that privation and crime are cause and effect. Let us see if we can give the *rationale* of the *mode*.

The effect of an enhanced price of food is not limited in its operation on the condition of the operative classes, by the simple difference of the sum taken from expenditure on clothing, &c., to make good the difference in the cost of food. The action of a lessened consumption of manufactured goods is to depress prices, and to limit production even beyond the exact measure of lessened ability to consume manufactures. Falling prices act on credit, and falling credit narrows all mercantile and manufacturing operations; and the finale of the process, is a large reduction of employment to the operative, concurrently with dearer food. Diminished employment, which means a smaller daily loaf, scanty fuel, and ragged garments, finds the operative in a state of discontent, suffering, and idleness. Discontent and idleness are fearful things when they meet in the condition of a man who has small mental resources, and comparatively a low moral tone. That such is the condition, at such times, of a large portion of the working classes, there can be no doubt; though we are far from believing it is general. We have, indeed, ample proof to the contrary, in the fortitude with which they have endured the distress of 1846—7, not to speak of 1840—2. We have distinct testimony to the noble bearing of the class, in the 'Thirteenth Report on Prisons' already quoted. But asserting this, and contending for its truth, it cannot be denied, that the continuance of privation amongst those who, unhappily, neglect to make provision for the day of need, in the day of abundance, does lead to crime. Severe want tries the virtue of the class, on questions of *meum* and *teum*; and it destroys the moral tone of the class but too often, as it leads to sensual indulgence and recklessness. Then comes in the demon of faction. In his despair, the operative blames all around him for the evil of his condition; and he is thus prepared for a war of classes, which manifests itself in rick-burnings in Essex, and plug-drawing in Lancashire and Yorkshire.

It is undoubtedly true, that with more of forethought and thrift, and with a more intelligent perception of the nature of



the things which affect his lot, the operative would maintain a better moral position in the hour of trial. But we must deal with him as he is; and we therefore judge of the operation of the causes we have named, by what we know of him, rather than by what might be expected of him, in a better moral condition of his being. We cannot but indulge the hope, that a wiser national economy will lead to greater equableness in the price of food; and that the advancing morals of the working classes will enable them to meet with far less of deterioration, physical and moral, such vicissitudes in their material concerns, as under the wisest polity will be unavoidable.

We must now recal the attention of our readers to the table on page (650), showing the relative progress of population and crime, from 1805 to 1845. There is a moral in that table which we have not developed, but which is far too important to be overlooked.

The table establishes A GREAT FACT. It proves that crime has seen its climax. It proves, to use a railway phrase, that some powerful cause has 'put the break' on its onward and desolating progress, and first bringing its speed into coincidence with the ratio of progress in the population, will ere long leave it far in the rear. If there be any truth in our theory—that the growth of a city population greatly increases the tendency to crime,—then is it evident, that since 1820, the condition of England has been yearly becoming more unfavourable to the national morals. Supposing, then, that no counteracting force was in operation, subsequent to 1821—we ought to see in the ratio of crime an acceleration, comparing 1821 to 1831, with 1805 to 1821. But what says the table? Excess of crime, 1805 to 1821,—147·8. Ditto, Ditto, 1821 to 1831,—33! Nay, more. From 1831 to 1845, the excess is only 8·4 for all England; and there is an actual deficiency in the manufacturing districts of five per cent., and in the metropolitan of 1·3. Whatever vague and dreamy speculations others may entertain, as to the '*causes of crime*,' we have no questionings as to the cause of this extraordinary *retardation* in the rate of its progress. The people are more intelligent, and more moral. Sunday-schools, day-schools, mechanic's institutes, a free press, the juxtaposition of the middle and operative classes in our manufacturing districts especially, and its humanizing influence,—all have had their specific operation, and the result is what the criminal records unfold. It is an answer, most complete, to the thousand and one assertions, in and out of parliament, during the education controversy, that the people were going back to heathenism, and sinking deeper and deeper, year by year, in brutality,

ignorance, and immorality. The mere physical aspect of the people,—their dress, habitations, and deportment, might have answered that calumny, if the spectacle of what their industry and skill has achieved were held inconclusive. But a diminished criminal record strikes the adversary's master-weapon out of his hand, and leaves him disarmed and discomfited.

It is not our intention to enter into the larger question of the *efficient causes of crime*; but thus much we must say:—we are led by the analysis we have made of the *character* of crime in England, to the conclusion, that the vast proportion of it is entirely remediable. A slight advance in the moral tone of the working classes, just so much as would give them the self-respect which keeps the middle classes out of the dock and the prison, would prevent one half the offences which now swell the returns. A large proportion of these do not imply deep moral turpitude. They do not cause a man to lose caste altogether in society. They would do, if committed by one of the middle class. Why should there be difficulty in superinducing the same respect for self, the same standard of propriety, the same conventionalism, so to speak, as to a man's station amongst his fellows, as in the case of the middle classes? Not that having effected this, we would be content. The well-head of the national morals is in its recognition of moral responsibility, and its distinct perception of the laws of that responsibility. It is from this fountain, that the healing streams flow which correct all our ills. It is here we find the source of that reverence for authority, that sacredness of human life, and that respect for property, which render jacqueries and barricades even,—all but impossibilities.

In conclusion, we would lay down seven propositions, which the facts we have analysed and arranged, appear to us completely to establish.

FIRST. That the criminal returns of England establish an excess in the ratio of crime, over and above the increase of the population, of 147·8 per cent., betwixt 1805 and 1821; 33 per cent., betwixt 1821 and 1831; and 8·4 per cent., betwixt 1831 and 1845.

SECOND. That whilst all the other counties of England show a smaller excess of crime in the *third* period, as compared with the first and second, the manufacturing counties show an actual deficiency in the rate of increase in crime, compared with the rate of increase in population, of 5 per cent.; and the metropolitan counties, a similar deficiency of 1·3 per cent.

THIRD. That in simple arithmetical proportion, and in centesimal parts, the rates of annual increase in the population and in crime, respectively, were 2·3 and 11·4, in the first period; 1·6 and 5·0, in the second period; and 1·6 and 1·9, in the third period.

FOURTH. That the *EXCESS* in the ratio of *increase in crime*, over the annual increase of the population, for all England, was 9·1, in the first period; 3·4, in the second period; and 0·3, in the third period; and that the ratio of the first to the last, was, in round numbers, as 91 to 3.

FIFTH. That this marked *retardation* in the progress of crime, has been concurrent with an expansion of the population, of unprecedented rapidity, and a greatly augmented aggregation of the population in towns and cities.

SIXTH. That the phenomena of crime in England seem to establish the conclusion, almost to demonstration, that the aggregation of the population in towns and cities, powerfully tends to increase the opportunities and incentives to crime.

SEVENTH. That coupling together the facts indicated in the two propositions immediately preceding, it is palpable, THAT SOME POWERFUL PRINCIPLE, COUNTERACTIVE OF CRIME, has been in operation, the force of which has been most strongly developed in the manufacturing and metropolitan counties.

We abstain from putting in the form of an eighth proposition, that as all crime is a violation of the laws which govern man's physical and moral well-being, so the effectual counteractives of crime can be no other than intelligence and morality; and as a corollary, it is an inevitable conclusion from the facts established in the five first propositions, that these elements of national happiness, order, and true greatness, are increasing in a ratio, constantly and rapidly augmenting. We say, we abstain from putting this conclusion in the shape of a distinct proposition, simply because we have not made the question,—What is crime? our object; but—What are the circumstances under which it is manifested, in greater or less ratio to the population, and what has been its progress for a given period of years? It would be dogmatic to lay down, *as a proposition*, a conclusion which we have not distinctly elaborated. But we have not the least hesitation in recording it as *our deliberate conviction*; and as a signal proof, that what has so often been asserted by the friends of voluntary education, is only the truth,—that the progress of the people in knowledge and morality, within the last thirty years, has no parallel in the preceding history of the country.

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ART. II.—*Views in the Indian Archipelago, Borneo, Sarawak, Labuan, etc. From Drawings made on the spot by Captain Drinkwater Bethune, R.N., Commander Heath, R.N., and others. The Descriptive Letter-Press by James Augustus St. John, Esq. London: Maclean. 1848.*

It is but a year or two, since a single province on the north-western coast of Borneo emerged from the gloom with which the ignorance of ages had surrounded it, and attracted some degree of attention. For a considerable period, the intelligence which reached this country from the further East, had brought vague and indefinite accounts of Mr. Brooke's arrival and settlement in the Indian Archipelago. People read the name of Sarawak in the journals of the day, but remained in ignorance of its exact situation, its condition, its resources, and the circumstances which led to our countryman's establishment there. Scattered facts, however, were from time to time gathered and circulated. Details, disconnected, misarranged, often clothed in a tissue of extravagance, were laid before the world; but at length, the faint shadows which were at first alone visible assumed shape and tangibility, so that men in general began to feel themselves in possession of many facts, of whose existence they had hitherto remained in total ignorance. The information which first dawned upon Europe was in itself of but little intrinsic value. It awakened, however, a powerful interest in the public mind; it called faithful accounts into circulation, and the results were speedily made apparent. The supply of knowledge, like that of most other things, is regulated by the demand. Whilst there existed no curiosity concerning the vast, and then mysterious, regions of insular Asia, it was not to be looked for that writers should occupy themselves with the subject. From the moment, however, that public interest was awakened, the hidden sources of information were, by slow degrees, revealed; one or two daily journals, and a few periodical publications, presented their readers with speculations on the Indian Archipelago. The question thus acquired a hold on the public mind; and it will depend entirely on the policy pursued with regard to the islands of the eastern seas, whether or not those wealthy regions be again allowed to lapse into obscurity and oblivion.

Rajah Brooke's early career in the Indian Archipelago was guided by peculiarly fortuitous circumstances. He sailed into the China Sea, and was struck by the magnificent spectacle presented by the islands which rose, not with naked shores and rock-bound coasts, but green from the water's edge. Borneo,

with its stupendous mountains, lay before him ; Celebes, with its verdant grass-lands and wide forests ; and Java, whose hillslopes present the extraordinary appearance of a succession of crops ; in one field just sprouting from the earth ; in the next giving the best evidence of vigor ; in a third, waving in green masses ; in a fourth, just tinged with yellow, and so on, until the rich golden crop stretches its flowing surface along the warmer slopes. Thus the various processes of agriculture are continually being carried on, from the sowing of the seed to the reaping and gathering up of the corn into sheaves. Struck by this spectacle, the traveller inquired, visited the scenes he was enraptured with, observed the wild and primitive modes of life prevailing among the Indian islanders, and finally determined on making an attempt which has been glorious in its already greatly-developed success, and even in failure could not have been regarded without admiration.

Further accounts reached England. It was made known that Mr. Brooke, in the face of numerous obstacles, had permanently established himself at Sarawak ; that the inexhaustible resources of Borneo, and its companion islands, were no longer matter of doubt ; that the soil was fruitful, that the natural productions were various and of great value, and that, in short, nothing was wanting, save the spirit of enterprise, to ensure the creation of an extensive commercial system in the Oriental Archipelago. Gradually, the dense clouds of ignorance began to melt beneath the light cast on them from the West, and by slow but sure degrees the veil has been lifted, revealing to the gaze of Europe a succession of islands, more magnificent and fertile than those that stud the seas in any other quarter of the globe. The numerous works which have appeared upon the subject have performed their share, though much of the knowledge which has been so widely diffused, may be said to have flowed through the broad and deep channel of popular and periodical literature.

The present series of views, copiously illustrated with letterpress, is well calculated to familiarise the mind with the various phases under which nature developes herself in the Indian Archipelago. The first drawing represents Kini Balu, a lofty mountain on the north-west coast of Borneo. Its stupendous heights have never yet been ascended, and the mystery which consequently hangs around its many-peaked head, has given rise to numerous traditional tales, which, related in the earliest periods, have been handed down through successive generations, moulded and modified according to the impress of the time. It is said, that unknown races of men dwell within the circumference of that great ring of clouds which constantly

hangs round the head of Kini Balu, and among the numerous pinnacles of the mountain is situated a valley so abundant, that the inhabitants need no other source from whence to draw subsistence for themselves, and the tribes scattered along the upper slopes. To such accounts, however, little importance is to be attached. Although they do not bear on the face of them the impress even of improbability, for we must remember that the same tradition which tells this story, embodies the history of the colonization of the surrounding provinces by the Chinese, many ages since. Made up of the marvellous and ridiculous, this relation has been handed down for centuries, and is believed at the present day, with as much faith as ever. Of the lands which extend southward from behind Kini Balu, more credible accounts are afforded. A prodigious lake is described as stretching to an immense distance in the interior. Its expanse is so broad, that, standing on one side, you cannot see the opposite shores. Numerous islands, for the most part the retreat only of aquatic birds, dot the surface of the water, while the borders of the lake, verdant and beautiful, are covered with villages and hamlets, and adorned with groves and gardens, not excelled in loveliness by the richest scenes ever described by the traveller in continental India. Beyond the huge mountain, ridges, not barren and naked, but fertile as the plains whence they ascend, and enormous forests, add a boldness to the landscape. Throughout almost the whole Archipelago, the same rich features meet the eye. Stupendous ranges of hills cross and re-cross the level regions, some towering abruptly to an immense height, and thrusting their numerous peaks above the clouds, and others rising by gentle degrees, and covered to their utmost summit with vegetation, as abundant and rich as is to be found in the softest and most fertile valleys. Broad plains, dotted with villages and towns, cultivated with elaborate care, and watered by magnificent rivers, alternate with interminable sweeps of jungle, so dense and rank, that the navigator, while observing at a distance the shores of the various islands, has often been betrayed into the belief that he was gazing on extensive meadow-lands, while in reality, the deceptive appearance was occasioned by the manner in which the jungles grow; the plants rising in so close companionship, that they form, for many miles, a sea, as it were, of foliage of every species and kind, impervious to the rays of the hottest sun.

The various descriptions and views with which we are here presented of Sarawak and its vicinity, afford a correct idea of the numerous fine displays of nature there spread out before the view. The limits of drawing, however, can seldom realise all the features of an eastern landscape, where the richness and



variety of the colours which alternately prevail form conspicuous and important elements in the scenery. Gorgeous views, and rare combinations of the grand and the lovely, the stupendous and the gently picturesque, are not all that we are to look for in Sarawak. Its fertile soil is adapted to the growth of rice, sago, camphor, the cocoa palm, the mangusteen, the date palm, the aloes tree, with the nutmeg, the clove, and the cinnamon, with an infinite variety of other productions, which might easily form the materials of a great and lucrative commerce in the eastern seas. Minerals of different kinds—gold, copper, and antimony abound, while diamond-mines are to be sought for between the spurs of nearly all the mountains, and on the banks of many rivers and streams. At Santah, where Mr. Brooke has a plantation of nutmegs, an establishment has been formed for the purpose of working a very productive mine. When the resources of the province are amply developed, we may hope to see manufactories spring into existence, and behold the progress of our industry, now restricted within the limits of necessity.

The races which inhabit the valuable territory of Sarawak are of various names and character. The Orang Idan are somewhat more inclined to peaceful pursuits than their bolder neighbours, though crafty and superstitious to the last degree. The Malays are not over honest, but enterprising, and industrious in whatever calling they betake themselves to, whether piracy or trade. To them succeed the Chinese, the very scum and dregs of the Celestial Empire, thieves and vagabonds, almost without exception, yet laborious and persevering. Mr. Brooke finds it more difficult to manage these men, than any other class over whom his sway extends. They work well and earn sufficient livelihoods, yet cheat at every opportunity. The plan succeeded before our countryman became rajah; but his keen-sighted and determined policy immediately showed them under whose rule they were; and finding knavery not so practicable now as of yore, the number of old settlers is diminishing, though an influx of new emigrants is continually taking place. The Cochin-Chinese form another division of the population of Sarawak. Of the others, we can only here pause to mention the indigenous Dyak, rude and simple mannered, ignorant, wild in his habits, and accustomed to savage and bloody practices; possessed, notwithstanding, of a willing and amiable disposition, often perverted, it is true, by the barbarity amid which he was born and nurtured, yet offering fair promise of success to the missionary of the Christian faith, and the emissaries of civilisation.

The artist now transports us to Labuan, where the ceremony

of hoisting the British flag took place on the 24th of December, 1846. Regarding the future success of our new settlement little doubt can be entertained. The wealth and resources of the surrounding islands are well known, though there are not wanting those who consider the trifling expense we have been at, in laying the foundation of future power in the Archipelago to have been entirely thrown away. 'The island of Labuan, says Mr. St. John, 'probably destined to rival Singapore in importance, is about twenty-five miles in circumference, and occupies a commanding position at the mouth of the Borneo river. It rises in places to the height of seventy feet above the level of the sea, and is almost entirely covered with a dense forest. Of the different species of trees it possesses, little is known, except that some of them attain to a great magnitude, and that on several points of the shore, the species of laurel which produce camphor is found. The island is traversed by numerous streams of which some are of considerable dimensions, though two only appear to flow at all seasons of the year. The rest are torrents which become dry in the depths of the hot season. Water, however, is found everywhere, by digging, in great abundance and of excellent quality. In several places the streams are found running over beds of coal, and in a ravine, or small valley, towards the north, there exists a fine waterfall. On this part of the coast the woods stretch down to the very edge of the sea, whose waves roll inward, and break against the shore beneath their outstretched boughs. The rattans, from which the natives make cordage for their boats, are very numerous and valuable. The sea in the vicinity of the island abounds with fish of a superior quality, and between two and three hundred men, who subsist entirely by fishing, constituted, before our arrival, its only population. Their numbers are increasing rapidly, and when the coal mines begin to be worked, the island will swarm with inhabitants.'

In addition to the impulse which the establishment of a British settlement in the immediate track of commerce, must give to the trade of the Indian Archipelago, the check which that settlement, properly organised, and efficiently defended, must give to the piratical system of the eastern seas, should also be taken into consideration. For many years the formidable pirate fleets which annually range along every shore, and thread every group of islands, have committed incalculable ravages, desolating the coast towns, carrying away the inhabitants, intercepting the trading craft, and plundering every vessel not fortunate enough to escape, either murdering the crews, or conducting them into slavery. There is no estimating the prodigious extent to which this system has been carried.

Every island in the Archipelago has annually sent forth its pirates. The Sulu group is under the dominion of a freebooting sovereign, who encourages his subjects in the perpetration of every species of atrocity. The great Bay of Illanun, on the northern coast of Magindanao, is the abode of a race of men wholly given to piracy. Their system is not that of petty sea-robbers, who plunder each man for his own benefit; on the contrary, they have laws and preserve them rigorously, sharing their spoil by rule. Gilolo, Luconia, Celebes, and all the other less known islands, send forth their buccaneers; while in Borneo, every river, gulf, bay, creek, inlet, and promontory, afforded, until lately, a retreat for pirates, whose depredations were carried on to an extraordinary extent. The more powerful chiefs, besides preying upon the surrounding tribes, and exacting unjust tribute in slaves and money from those over whom they possessed no right, save that of superior strength, equipped and despatched to sea large fleets to swell the number of the pirate vessels which constantly scour the Archipelago, crossing and recrossing the great highways of commerce, plundering the defenceless traders, and carrying the crews to bondage.

Nor only to native vessels were these depredations confined. A gentleman, resident on an island in the Sulu group, mentions, in a list he furnishes of the prizes brought in within the six months, several Spanish and Dutch square-rigged ships, with innumerable smaller craft under European command; and one or two triumphs over the British flag are also enumerated. The number of native boats stated as having been seized would, at first sight, appear incredible, did we not know the formidable extent to which the buccaneering system has been carried. Every year brought new additions to its strength, and had it not been for the timely check given within the last year or two, by the appearance of the British flag in these seas, there is no imagining how far the power of the pirate kings of the Indian Archipelago would have extended. Severe, however, as was the punishment inflicted on the freebooters of Borneo, by Keppel, Cochrane, and Mundy, little permanent good could have been hoped for, had not the decisive and spirited policy of the British government led to our taking possession of Labuan, and hoisting the English flag in the very centre, as it were, of the great pirate nest. Formerly, it was the practice of the buccaneers to congregate in considerable force at this island, which lying, as it does, in the direct track of the trading fleets, in which the peaceful communities constantly stake their whole wealth, afforded them good opportunity for putting out to sea, just at the moment when the unarmed vessels were gliding slowly along the waves which roll on the north western shores of



Borneo, to crowd all sail, cut off all retreat, and drive the defenceless craft into the very arms of destruction. A great change will necessarily be effected when Labuan shall become invested with the *prestige* of power. The trading fleets will not alter theirs, but the pirate vessels will be compelled to steer another way. This can only be the result, however, of a steady and unremitting series of efforts in the cause of commerce and civilization. The English flag should not appear in the eastern seas like an evanescent meteor, outshining all else while its brilliancy lasts, but quickly fading away in distance, and leaving behind it deeper darkness than ever. Our power and influence should burn as a beacon of undying lustre on Labuan. The world knows how Singapore has risen from being an insignificant dot on the ocean, to be the flourishing emporium of commerce in the Indian Seas. That settlement cost twenty thousand pounds per annum during the first few years of its existence. Now it pays, and has for a long period paid the whole expense of its civil establishment, and yet we find members of the House of Commons arguing now for the reduction of the proposed estimates of Labuan to a miserably inefficient sum; and now contending that no grant whatever ought to be made. This latter course would be preferable to that proposed by Mr. Hume, whose corporal's guard would certainly not comport with the dignity and power of the British empire.

It was stated in the House of Commons, when the debate on the Labuan estimate took place, that our measures in the Indian Archipelago were only a repetition of the policy which had involved us in hostility, in so many different parts of the world, with the unoffending aboriginal population, the rightful possessors of the soil. In answer to this assertion, much may be said. Have we gone into the Indian Archipelago with conquest before our eyes? Are we not courted by the natives? It is an old story among them, that formerly when the question was asked, 'If you met in the woods a Malay, a tiger, or an European, from whom would you first flee?' an universal shout of execration announced their hatred of the latter name. Now, however, their tone is changed. 'We know,' say they, speaking of the English, 'the Dyak knows, the whole world knows, that the white man is a friend of the Dyak.' And were not the British officers pressingly solicited, in every instance by the *peaceful* aborigines, to return with their vessels as soon as practicable. To the pirates we are, of course, objects of alarm and hatred. That is as it should be. No one surely will argue to the contrary. Why then, should we not establish ourselves in the Indian Archipelago, on an island voluntarily ceded to us, and

which we should not, perhaps, have taken possession of, had it not been for the faithless, treacherous, and unprincely conduct of its former ruler?

Again, reference has been made to 'certain unhappy scenes of bloodshed and massacre of harmless natives, which are not of unfrequent occurrence.' The speaker alluded, doubtless, to the affairs of the Gilolo coast, and near Labuan. In the former, the harmless natives were pirates. Captain Sir Edward Belcher distinctly states it, and his narrative of the events places the matter beyond all doubt. And which was the aggressive party? The natives:—by whom while our countrymen were engaged in perfect peace, taking observations on a point of land, they were suddenly attacked and compelled to shelter themselves in the vessels. When out at sea the English boats were assaulted by several formidable prahus, manned with crews armed to the teeth, and devoid of every appearance of honesty and peace. Captain Belcher's party was at first compelled to make away, and if they visit a heavy retribution upon the pirates when an opportunity was afforded, who shall blame them? In the other case, the Nemesis steamer perceived eleven pirate prahus of the largest size, in pursuit of a diminutive boat, whose owner was a poor but honest man, carrying his little store for sale at the neighbouring mart. Chase was given, and a sanguinary engagement took place, in which the English steamer was victorious. We deny *in toto* the assertion that any massacres, of any species or description whatever, were ever perpetrated by British authority in the Indian seas, since Mr. Brooke's establishment there. We deny that any bloody scenes of devastation have been enacted there. Whenever bloodshed has taken place, it has been in open battle, in the face of day, where shot replied to shot, and blow was given for blow. Have we refused quarter to surrendering enemies? Have we attacked them indiscriminately? Was ever a town or village destroyed before its inhabitants and their chief had fair warning, that unless they would promise for ever to abstain from piracy, their homes should be made desolate, and themselves driven into the jungle. It is the duty of all nations to attack, destroy, and utterly root out pirates in every quarter of the world. If our assertions can be disproved, we court the evidence which may be brought against them, convinced that the most searching scrutiny would fail to throw obloquy on the British name, with regard to our late proceedings in the Indian Archipelago.\*

Mr. Thompson, carried away by his zeal for economising the resources of the country, asserted that for every pirate killed, we raised up a hundred enemies in those seas. We know

\* For a complete and faithful account of the whole system of piracy carried on in the Eastern Archipelago, see the 'Edinburgh Review' for July, 1848.

not what course of reasoning had led him to this conclusion. Certain it is, that the enemies we should raise up would be among the incorrigible pirates, and with them we do not, certainly, wish to exist in friendship. When they abstain from piracy, England will forsake hostility, but until then, it will be her duty to hold them as the worst enemies of commerce, of civilization, and of Christianity. With regard to the peaceful trading communities, every measure we take towards extirpating the atrocious freebooters of the eastern seas, will endear us still further to them. Out of the enormous number of prahus which annually set sail towards the great trading marts of the Archipelago, there is no calculating the sum of those which fall victims to the ruthless pirate fleets. What a check is thus given to trade! With the wealth which we know it to possess, with the resources which could increase that wealth to an indefinite extent, with hardy and industrious populations on its various islands, with the rudiments of traffic which it now sustains, it is difficult to conceive the height to which the prosperity of the Indian Archipelago may not ascend. To whom should the task be entrusted? Spain has not the power, if it had the will; France has no interests to defend, and no commerce to protect there; Holland is unfortunately too busy with measures of aggression and conquest; and withal, seems not strong enough to effect much. Its disgraceful expedition to Bali has met with signal failure, and the attempt it made in April last, to bring the piratical Sultan of Sulu to terms, was repulsed with so great vigour, that the Dutch vessels were compelled, with dishonour, to seek escape in the open sea, from the hot volleys poured upon them from the pirate batteries. It remains, therefore, for England to perform the good work. The Indian islands are at present steeped in barbarism. Commerce would thrive among them, were it not choked by the rank weeds of piracy; civilization would progress, but its advance is retarded by the constant series of assaults and defences, of pillages, and burning of towns, and laying waste of districts, and the desolation of defenceless coasts. Slavery might be suppressed, but the buccaneering system finds its main strength in the traffic in human flesh. Indeed, there can exist no hope for the regeneration of the Indian Archipelago, so long as piracy constitutes the greatest existing power. All exertions, however energetically directed, but which have not this object in view, must prove abortive. We put it to our readers, therefore, whether or not the extirpation of these freebooting hordes, will reflect credit on the country. We unhesitatingly assert that it will.

The length into which we have been betrayed by the present



subject, will preclude us from touching much further on the interesting scenes and descriptions laid before us in Mr. St. John's views in the eastern Archipelago. One extract, however, we must yet make. Our author is speaking of the future prospects of Borneo, and of the relation it is destined to enter into with England :—

‘ Hereafter, as our influence develops itself in Borneo, the margins of its rivers will have more significance for us, in proportion as the number of families is rapidly multiplied, who have sons and daughters located on them. Already, I learn to look with affection at the jungle, mountains, and streams of that part of the world, as the probable home for years of one of my children. And, what is true in my case, will shortly be so in that of many others. With Mr. Brooke's name, a hundred rivers and headlands, a hundred creeks and bays, are already connected intimately. As we glance along the coast, ‘ here,’ we exclaim, ‘ did he direct the destruction of the pirate fleet, where his native followers slew the Illanun-panglima; here the buccaneer, Budrudeen, was made prisoner; and there, in the quiet little village of Santah, he spends, after months of fatigue and toil, a few quiet days in retirement. And in this way will the historical geography of Pulo Kalamantan be formed. ‘ Here,’ we shall be able to say, ‘ is a Chinese Kungsi; there, a gold or diamond mine, and further on, a missionary settlement with church, and school for the instruction of the Dyaks.’ Slender white spires will ascend through the forests, and a thousand sacred associations be cherished around them, and then will the banks of the river be beautiful in the eyes of civilization, which will have wrought a good work in reclaiming the savage and his country from the civil curse which now rests upon both.’

We cannot linger over the rest of the present volume. If our readers would render themselves familiar with the various scenes represented, they would do well to consult the views which have suggested our observations. From Mr. Brooke's Bungalow, at Sarawak, we are led on to the Borneo River, where the English war-steamer is sustaining the fire of a powerful battery. Thence we accompany the artist to Brunei, the Venice, as it has been termed, of the Oriental Archipelago; then into the centre of a Singapore jungle; thence, again, into the midst of a picturesque Dyak village, in an interior province of Borneo. With the facility of Asmodeus, Mr. St. John leads us from Labuan to the summit of Santurbong, from the pirate haunts in the Malludu river, to Borneo; from Singhi to Matang; describing each with truth and vigor, and illustrating his delineations with exceedingly picturesque accompaniments. But we must conclude, and trust that the observations we have made, will not be without their effect upon the minds of those who may have been prejudiced by statements, uttered, without doubt, in an honest and praiseworthy spirit, but based on erroneous information.

ART. III.—*The History of the Jews of Spain and Portugal, from the Earliest Times to their Final Expulsion from those Kingdoms, and their subsequent Dispersions; with complete Translations of all the Laws made respecting them during their long establishment in the Iberian Peninsula.* By E. H. Lindo. 8vo. London: Longman and Co.

THE history of the Hebrew nation, from the capture of Jerusalem by Titus, is one of the most melancholy of human records. It is written within and without with lamentation and weeping. Their ancient glory was not merely shaded,—it suffered a total eclipse. Their sun set in blood, and they became a byeword and reproach with all people. The miserable remnant which survived the overthrow of their beautiful city were scattered amongst all lands, and found no resting-place for the soles of their feet. Clinging to the faith of their fathers, distinct in their habits from the people with whom they sojourned, without social affinities beyond the pale of their own tribe, at once recoiling from their neighbours and shunned contemptuously by them, they were exposed to an accumulation of sufferings which no other free people have experienced. The history of the world furnishes no parallel to their case, and the intelligent student will vainly seek to resolve its phenomena without assistance from the Divine record. Their debasement has been proportioned to their former elevation. The miracles wrought on their behalf, the illustrious individuals reared in their midst and commissioned for their guidance, the unique character of their government, and the marvellous communications which, from time to time, they received from the Deity, stand out in visible and striking contrast to all the more recent facts of their history. Objects, at once, of popular outrage and of regal oppression, they have tasted, nay, drunk to the very dregs, the cup of human sorrow.

Social wrongs have been endured by other people, and the religious element, corrupted by superstition and infuriated by bigotry, has for a season embittered their lot. But what was accidental and temporary in other cases, has been uniform and permanent in that of the Jews. The religion of Christendom degenerated into a drivelling superstition, denounced them as the vilest malefactors, and commanded its votaries, as an act of piety to heaven, to heap on them all possible human misery. Interpreting the Divine mind by its own bad passions, it arrogated the terrible attributes of omnipotence, and claimed the right of punishing the infidelity which had rejected the claims

of Christ. An ignorant and brutal superstition prepared the European people to be the ready instruments of a wily and intolerant priesthood ; while the wealth of the Israelites tempted feudal barons, and needy sovereigns, to the same truculent and base policy. It is fearful to contemplate the crimes and miseries which resulted from a combination of these influences. A worse than Egyptian oppression was practised throughout Europe. We have never known, we never shall know, the miseries inflicted on the Hebrew people. The marvel is that they have survived, and the fact of their having done so, is living proof of the truth of those records to which the common faith of Jews and of Christians turns.

These facts give great interest to the history of the Hebrews, of which the volume before us forms an important link. An impartial account of the Jews of Spain and Portugal has long been a desideratum. They were known to have settled in these countries in large numbers, and during many centuries to have conducted most of their monetary transactions, and to have earned for themselves high reputation in oriental scholarship, and a knowledge of the arts and sciences. Mr. Lindo has derived his information from original authorities, Spanish, Portuguese, and Hebrew ; and has elucidated his narrative by references to the general history of the Peninsula. The volume is too documentary to be extensively popular, but its value, as a permanent record, is thereby increased. Some distraction is induced by the numerous kingdoms into which the Iberian Peninsula was formerly broken up, but the want of unity to which this leads is amply compensated by the more exact and multifarious information supplied. On the whole, Mr. Lindo's volume must take its place amongst works of sterling merit, whose permanent value will be attested by the references all future historians of Spain and Portugal must make to its pages.

The first settlement of the Jews in these countries is lost in the obscurity of ages ; but while the rest of Europe was sunk in ignorance and semi-barbarism, Jewish rabbins occupied the highest chairs, and by their attainments shed lustre over the celebrated Moorish schools, of Cordova and Toledo. They made known the philosophy of the ancients to the mixed race which resulted from the irruption of barbarous tribes into the Roman empire. 'Europe,' as Mr. Lindo justly remarks, 'has scarcely acknowledged, much less repaid, the debt she owes to the illustrious Hebrew schools of Spain.' The services they rendered did not however exempt them from bitter persecution. Sizebut, who was raised to the Gothic throne of Spain in 612, in order to conciliate the Greek emperor, Heraclius, impri-



soned several of their most wealthy men, and sanctioned the murder of large numbers who would not embrace Christianity. Many, in consequence, emigrated to that part of Gaul which was occupied by the Franks, and others passed over to Africa. It is asserted by a Spanish historian, that ninety thousand received baptism in order to escape the horrors of this persecution, many of whom, however, returned to Judaism on the death of the monarch. A slight respite was subsequently afforded them, but even those Councils which were most lenient in their measures, throw a melancholy light over the condition of the Hebrews. Thus, the fourth Council of Toledo, in 633, enacted the following amongst various canons, than which it is scarcely possible to conceive of anything more absurdly inconsistent :—

‘In respect to Jews, this holy synod has resolved, that in future no one shall be compelled to receive our faith ; for God hath mercy on whom he will have mercy, and whom he will he hardeneth ; as such persons are not saved unwillingly, but by consent, that the attribute of justice be preserved entire. For as man perished by his own free will in submitting to the serpent, so when the grace of God calleth, every man is saved by believing, by the conversion of his own mind. Therefore they are not to be constrained, but persuaded into conversion, by the free agency of the will. As to those already forced into Christianity, as was done in the time of the most devout prince Sizebut, since it is evident they have partaken of the holy sacrament, have received the grace of baptism, have been anointed with the chrism, and received the body and blood of our Lord ; it is right they should be obliged to retain the faith they have undertaken, although under compulsion and necessity, lest the name of God be blasphemed, and the faith they have assumed be considered worthless and despicable.’—p. 14.

The children of Jews were to be separated from their parents, and to be placed in monasteries, or under so-called Christian men and women, ‘that by their society they may learn the worship of the true faith, that, being thus better instructed, they may improve in morals and belief.’ When such unnatural and barbarous decrees were deemed merciful, it is needless to say what must have been the general condition of the people. The rigour of the laws was increased from time to time, yet they failed to effect either the conversion or the extirpation of the Jews. The ignorance of legal and clerical functionaries, who in general could neither read nor write, prevented a strict enforcement of the decrees adopted ; while the numerous revolutions that occurred, and the instability of the royal authority, coupled with the great wealth of the Jews, enabled them to weather many of the storms raised for their destruction. On Witiza becoming sole sovereign of

Spain, in 701, brighter prospects opened on the country. He sought to heal its distractions, and to diminish its burdens; recalled those whom his father had banished, and restored the property which had been wrongfully seized. 'That no remembrance of the accusations against them might remain, he ordered the proceedings to be burnt; and permitted the Jews who had forcibly been baptized, to return to the religion they had involuntarily abjured. Thousands returned to their abandoned homes, and a country endeared to them by long residence, so that when, a few years after, Granada was taken by the Moors, they found it a Jewish town.' His peaceful and reforming measures raised him many enemies, and he was ultimately deprived of sight, and died in confinement at Cordova. Such is the reward too frequently experienced by those who are before their age. They perish in the struggle against great evils, and their reputation is blackened by mendacious and interested historians. Their labours, however, survive, and we who inherit the fruit of their sufferings, ought to be jealous of their good name. The least we can do, is to throw from us the foul aspersions by which chroniclers have sought to justify the atrocities of their victorious masters.

The Saracens invaded Spain in the commencement of the eighth century, and their success could not be otherwise than hailed by the Jews. 'The injuries they had suffered under their persecutors must have induced them inwardly to pray for the success of the invaders, and to hail them as their deliverers from worse than Egyptian bondage.' The lenient policy of the Saracens contrasts most honourably with that of the Visigothic Christians. On the capitulation of Toledo:—

'All who wished to quit were at liberty to do so in perfect safety, with their property; those who preferred to remain, were to have the free exercise of their religion. Seven churches were appropriated to the Christians; the remainder were converted into mosques. No new churches were to be erected. Taxation to continue the same as under the Gothic sovereigns. Christians and Jews were to have justice administered by their own magistrates, according to their own laws.

'At Cordova and Seville, they had been equally tolerant, and the Jew in his synagogue, the Christian in his church, and the Moslem in his mosque, might be seen at the same time worshipping the Creator of all. Can it be supposed, if the Jews had acted as traitorously as Archbishop Rodrigo asserts, that the Christian governors would have provided for them in the capitulation? What a contrast between the conduct of Mahometans and Christians towards nonconformists to their faith.

'As soon as the Moors were settled in their conquests, the conformity of manners, opinions, sentiment, and even similarity of language, brought numbers of Jews to the Peninsula to partake of their prosperity and science; they were freely allowed to practise that worship,

their Christian rulers had imputed to them as a crime. Attached to their new governors, their only rivalry was in learning; both united in the dissemination of knowledge. Foreigners flocked from all parts to receive instruction at the renowned Hebrew and Arabian schools of Cordova; for both flourished greatly under the protection of the Moors.—p. 39.

Numerous dissensions ultimately broke the Saracen power in Spain. Many of the cities became independent, and separate sovereignties were formed, out of which have grown the more modern forms of Spanish society. It is not our purpose to trace the political history of the Peninsula, however full it may be of romance, and we, therefore, pass over the protracted struggle which ensued between the crescent and the cross. The Jews took no part in this struggle. Their habits were peaceful, and their talents and industry were acknowledged by all. They had no sympathy with the chivalry which sought display on the battle-field, but were the money-changers of the age, and the students of neglected and despised science.

The overthrow of Mahomedan supremacy was fatal to the Jews. During its continuance, they enjoyed rest; but no sooner was the Christian power in the ascendant, than they began to taste the bitter fruits of clerical intolerance. In many towns they were massacred by an infuriated populace, and in others they suffered from the more concealed, but scarcely less destructive, policy of the authorities. Fifteen thousand innocent victims are said to have been immolated at Toledo, in 1349, and a few years afterwards a similar tragedy was enacted at Seville, under the special direction of the archdeacon. On the 6th of June, 1391, the residence of the Jews in that city was attacked by a brutal and superstitious mob. 'The exterminating steel spared neither age nor sex; those that implored mercy, or that sought to escape, were alike murdered; four thousand Israelites perished in that dreadful slaughter. Amidst the yells of the savage mob and the groans of the dying, was heard the voice of the archdeacon, encouraging them in those horrible scenes of carnage and extermination.' These outbreaks were as disastrous to Spain as they were ruinous to the Jews. They drove from the Peninsula the most industrious and thriving portion of its inhabitants, and thus served to impoverish the country, and greatly to increase the burdens of such as remained. Many of the Hebrews emigrated to Africa, and carried with them the looms which had afforded occupation to the poorer inhabitants of Toledo and Seville. The rich markets which they had formed were deserted, and the productions of the east and west, the silks of Persia, the skins of Morocco, and the jewellery of Arabia, sought and



enriched other people. Thus it has ever been in the history of persecution, whether its victims be found amongst the Jews of Spain, the Albigenses of Piedmont, the Huguenots of France or the Puritans of England. It is one of the eternal laws which the Creator has established, and few more striking illustrations of it can be found, than this history supplies.

The condition of such as remained was greatly embittered by the introduction of the Inquisition, in 1481. On the marriage of Ferdinand with Isabella, this terrible scourge was inflicted on the dominions of the latter, in opposition to the views of all classes in Castile:—

‘The plea for its introduction, was the pretended necessity for punishing the apostacy of the newly converted Spanish Jews; but Judaism was only the pretext for the establishment of the Inquisition by Ferdinand v. The real motive of this extraordinary measure, was to put in force a system of confiscation against the Jews, that would make all their wealth fall into the hands of government; while Sextus iv. had no other design, than to realise the project so cherished by the Roman See, of extending its authority.

‘The blood-thirsty Torquemada and his successors rendered it a terror to all Spain. No one was safe from its baneful influence; for not only Jews, Moors, and converts from the Mosaic and Mahomedan creeds fell under its colossal power, but even their descendants were declared base and infamous.’—p. 250.

In the hands of such monsters as Torquemada, the Inquisition became a terrible scourge to the Hebrews. Its province was enlarged from time to time, though, even so early as 1486, only five years after its establishment, the rabbins of Toledo were compelled to furnish a list of the converts who had returned to Judaism. Seven hundred and fifty were condemned to walk barefoot, in their shirts, carrying a lighted taper, one thousand seven hundred were sentenced to other penalties, and twenty-seven were burned alive. Some, however, were for a season exempted. Their wealth and high connexions protected them, until the bigotry of the monarch, siding with the intolerance of the clergy, and the gross ignorance of the people, prompted the wholesale banishment of the Hebrews, in 1492. Much has been written in praise of Ferdinand. He had successfully struggled against the last Moorish State in Spain, and had veiled, according to the fashion of his times, a crafty and selfish ambition under a religious guise. He is, therefore, known to history—sad misnomer, truly—as a Christian hero, and the success of his arms is represented as the triumph of Christianity over the faith of the Moslem. A minute investigation of his career leads to a different conclusion. He had, unquestionably, great qualities as a soldier and civilian; but

the dark and baser passions of our nature prompted much of his policy. Elated with the conquest of Granada, which was completed in January, 1492, he yielded to the instigations of the inquisitors, and resolved that the soil of Spain should no longer be polluted by the tread of the Israelites. It was in vain that they pleaded their services to the State, their attachment to the homes of their fathers, their talents and learning, their peaceful lives and thrifty habits. Under the specious mask of religion, Ferdinand sought to possess himself of their wealth. He had already, through the medium of the Inquisition, extracted from them large sums, and the diabolical tribunal he wielded, was now employed in a more sweeping confiscation. An edict was issued under date of March 30th, 1492, ordering 'all Jews and Jewesses, of whatever age they may be,' to quit the kingdom by the end of the following July, under 'penalty of death, and confiscation of all their property.' It is needless to dwell on the atrocity of such a measure. It fell like a thunderbolt on the Israelites, and is now condemned by the universal judgment of mankind:—

'The tempting offer of 600,000 crowns made by Abarbanel, caused the cold-hearted, calculating Ferdinand to hesitate about revoking the cruel decree, when Torquemada rushed into the royal presence, with a crucifix in his hand. Casting it on the table, the proud Dominican said, 'Behold him whom Judas sold for thirty pieces of silver; do you sell him for more?'—The churchman succeeded;—the decree was not repealed. This unmerciful persecutor of the Hebrew people rendered their fate worse, by forbidding Christians to supply them with food, or the necessities of life; or to receive, or even to hold communication with them after the month of April; thus usurping and superseding the royal authority, which had guaranteed them security from the date of the edict until the end of July. Yet the Catholic sovereigns winked at the daring insolence of the monk in assuming an authority over the regal power; but Torquemada was the creature of Ferdinand. In Aragon, Valencia, and Catalonia, (where they were exceedingly wealthy), the inquisitor ordered that the property of the Jewries and individuals should be sequestered, to pay any mortgages the king, the church, and monasteries might hold, and that twice the amount of the principal should be retained to defray expenses; and that a further sum should be taken to indemnify the land-proprietors and monasteries, for the loss they would sustain by their involuntary departure.'—p. 281.

'Wherever the evil decree was proclaimed, or the report of it had spread,' says one of the emigrants, 'our nation bewailed their condition with great lamentations; for there had not been such a banishment since Judah had been driven from his land.  
\* \* \* In one day, on foot, and unarmed, three hundred thousand collected from every province, young and old, aged

and infirm, women and children, all ready to go anywhere. Among the number was I, and, with God for our leader, we set out.' Another contemporary and eye-witness gives the following harrowing account:—

'Within the term fixed by the edict, the Jews sold and disposed of their property for a mere nothing; they went about begging Christians to buy, but found no purchasers; fine houses and estates were sold for trifles; a house was exchanged for an ass; and a vineyard given for a little cloth or linen. Although prohibited carrying away gold and silver, they secretly took large quantities in their saddles, and in the halters and harness of their loaded beasts. Some swallowed as many as thirty ducats to avoid the rigorous search made at the frontier towns and sea-ports, by the officers appointed for the purpose. The rich Jews defrayed the expenses of the departure of the poor, practising towards each other the greatest charity, so that except very few of the most necessitous, they would not become converts. In the first week of July they took the route for quitting their native land, great and small, old and young; on foot, on horses, asses, and in carts; each continuing his journey to his destined port. They experienced great trouble and suffered indescribable misfortunes on the roads and country they travelled; some falling, others rising; some dying, others coming into the world; some fainting, others being attacked with illness; that there was not a Christian but what felt for them, and persuaded them to be baptised. Some from misery were converted; but they were very few. The rabbins encouraged them, and made the young people and women sing, and play on pipes and tabors to enliven them, and keep up their spirits.'—p. 285.

It is impossible to imagine the sufferings which were involved in this forcible expatriation. Vast numbers were fortunate enough to enter Portugal, where for a time, they found shelter, but the majority were scattered far and wide over the continents of Europe and Africa. 'Some sold their children to procure bread, others expired in the midst of theirs, who were also dying from hunger; some few, in despair, returned to Spain, and were baptized.'

'On board one vessel full of emigrants,' says our author, 'a pestilential disease broke out; the captain landed all on a desert island, where they wandered about in quest of assistance. A mother carrying two infants, walking with her husband, expired on the road; the father, overcome with fatigue, fell fainting near his two children; on awakening he found them dead from hunger. He covered them with sand: 'My God,' exclaimed he, 'my misfortunes seem to induce me to abandon thy law; but I am a Jew, and will ever remain so.'

'Another captain deprived them of their clothes, and landed them naked on a barren coast, where they found a spring of water. At night, climbing some rocks in search of human habitations, a number were devoured by wild beasts. After being there for five days, the captain of



a passing ship perceived naked people on the shore ; he took them on board, clothed them with old sails, gave them food, and conveyed them to Genoa. Seeing their miserable condition, the inhabitants inquired if he had slaves for sale ? He nobly answered, ' No ! ' and delivered them to their brethren in the city, on payment of reasonable expenses. They gladly made him an additional present, and loaded him with their blessings. One wretch is said to have violated a Jewish maiden in her parents' presence : after quitting her, he returned and cut her throat, for fear, as he said, she should have conceived, and should bring forth a Jew.

'The miseries suffered by those who went to Morocco are equally appalling. The Moors plundered them of almost everything they had. Hearing that many men and women had swallowed gold to bring away, they murdered a number, and then ripped them open to search for it.

'At Sallee, the crew of a large vessel enticed a number of children on board, with promises of giving them bread, and then set sail, while their frantic mothers implored them from the beach to restore them their only treasure.

'Nine crowded vessels, infected with disease, arising from the hardships and privations of the voyage, arrived at Naples. The pestilence was communicated to the city, and 20,000 of its inhabitants fell victims to it.

'Others repaired to Genoa, where a famine prevailed. They were permitted to land, but were met by priests carrying a crucifix in one hand and a loaf of bread in the other : thus intimating, that by receiving baptism they should have food.

'This is but a brief account of the horrors and atrocities suffered by the unfortunate descendants of Judah on quitting, by the cruel mandate of Ferdinand and Isabella, a country to which, notwithstanding the persecutions they had occasionally experienced from the populace instigated by fanatic monks, they were sincerely and devotedly attached.'—pp. 289—291.

The Italians received them hospitably, and strange to say, the Pope, Alexander vi., afforded them an asylum in his dominions, and wrote to all the Italian States 'to grant the exiles from Spain and Portugal the same privileges as resident Jews enjoyed.'

The edict of Ferdinand was suicidal, like all the measures which a brutal and besotted superstition prompts. It gave an appearance of unity to the religious faith of Spain, but it was an appearance only, and that was dearly purchased by the exhaustion of the nation, and the premature development of its political and social decay. The present condition of the Peninsula is an instructive warning against the policy its rulers have pursued. Let our own country shun the example, and hasten to complete the work of tardy justice to an ill-used and calumniated people.

We need not follow the subsequent history of Mr. Lindo. Its general outline is known, and those who desire more minute information, will find what they require by consulting his pages.

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ART. IV.—*Our Scottish Clergy ; Fifty-two Sketches, Biographical, Theological and Critical, including Clergymen of all Denominations.*  
Edited by John Smith, A M. Edinburgh : Oliver and Boyd. 1848.

THERE is always a keen appetite for sketches of the remarkable of any kind—and books which have professed to gratify it, have been eagerly read, even though they laid claim to no higher merit than being random recollections. We fear that we must come to the mortifying conclusion, that it was the very fact of their being mere random jottings, that made such volumes popular. The craving to which they are addressed, is usually a love of gossip. People want to know, not the man,—but, as they say, with more truth than they perceive, something *about* him, and if a writer will only describe little personal peculiarities of dress and appearance, he may always rely on finding readers. No doubt such descriptions help us in completing our idea of men, but when they are made the chief points in a sketch, we instinctively feel that an audience of tailors would be the only fitting one, for a writer whose talk is of garments. We are glad to know that Goldsmith rejoiced in a peach blossomed coat, and thank a Pepys or a Boswell, for their preservation of such particulars, but we cannot be expected to extend our gratitude to gentlemen, whose entire volumes are mere records of mien and manners.

We took up this volume with some fear that it was another of this trashy kind—but we have been most agreeably disappointed. The writers—for it is the work of more than one author—have ‘souls above buttons,’ and while they do not omit the personal appearance of the subjects of their sketches, they keep it in its right place, and devote their attention to the mental peculiarities. The variety of authorship is plainly enough seen in the unequal merit of different articles, but in all there is an attempt—and usually a very successful one—at a fair discriminating estimate of character. Indeed, in this particular, it is an advantage that there is more than one mind at work, for we should scarcely expect from a single individual, the extensive

sympathy with mental excellence of all casts, requisite for the hearty genial appreciation of the merits of fifty or sixty different preachers. The plan adopted, has secured this, that whatever is worthy of praise is noted, but it has also entailed the evil that the various critics sometimes come into collision with each other—from their different ideals of pulpit excellence. Thus we find, more than once, a gentleman praised on one page for the very peculiarity which, on the next, forms the subject of an indirect censure. There is no one standard to which all are referred, the effect is, a fluctuation in the decisions of the book as a whole. With this slight abatement, however, the idea of the work is a good one, and well carried out. The general plan of each sketch, is to give a brief picture of the actual ministrations of the clergyman selected, on a certain Sabbath-day, and then to furnish an estimate of the man, and a condensed biography. The former part of each sketch embraces, of course, minute details of the whole service, even down to the number of verses that were sung, and the number of minutes spent in prayer, as well as an abstract of the sermon; the latter part is usually done with care, candour, and acuteness.

There is some difficulty in finding extracts that will convey a fair idea of the volume, from the diversity of authorship which we have noticed, as well as from the fact that a majority of the names in the Index are unknown on this side of the Tweed. There are, however, several of 'Our Scottish Clergy' who are loved and honoured beyond the bounds of their own land. At the head of these, *facile princeps*, the acknowledged leader of Scottish dissent, we place Ralph Wardlaw, from the sketch of whose character we make our first selection.

'Among the causes of his pre-eminence, we may notice what we may designate the *completeness* and *elegance* of his mind. . . . There are men that possess some one faculty in a higher degree, but few possess the whole in such harmony. Symmetry, not strength; health, not robustness; beauty, not sublimity, characterize his mind. Modesty and shrinking sensitiveness govern his proceedings. He makes no adventurous voyages, no Alpine journeys in quest of materials for thought. The dangers of the distant, the gloom of the profound, and the risk of the daring, he never ventures upon; and he has never raised the *ευρηκα*—*I have found*—for he never went in quest of the marvellous. His mind is not creative, but *assimilative*. Send it in quest of materials, and its very fastidiousness would send it back empty a thousand times; but give it those that have occupied the attention of men of note, and its experiments are most successful. . . . His mind cannot move, unless it can move with certainty. He is no smatterer, and no pretender,—what he knows, he knows thoroughly. This peculiarity runs through the extent of his knowledge. He never guesses at the meaning of a word in his own, or in any other language; before he uses it, he must know



it. Nor is he satisfied with ascertaining its meaning—he must be sure of its pronunciation. He can never speak of what he has seen *somewhere*, he must be able to tell the exact place. He seldom speaks of what one says *in substance*, he must be able to give his exact words and meaning. . . . His gentlemanly bearing and numerous accomplishments augment his reputation. . . . In the discharge of his public work there is a modest dignity, slightly tinged, perhaps, with a conscious superiority : a severely-strict propriety in all his gestures, and actions, and sayings, and a watchful avoidance of what would offend the greatest stickler for etiquette. In private, there is suavity rather than sweetness, a dignity that forbids undue familiarity, while his cheerfulness and pleasantries dissipate the anxiety of the most timid.’—p. 60—64.

Did we not know how true this sketch is in its ascription to Dr. Wardlaw, of a shrinking sensitiveness to any violation of the most delicate propriety, we could not avoid the temptation of adding our humble tribute to the man who, for forty-five years, has ministered in his native town, with constantly increasing honour and reverence, and who now stands first of all the living clergy of Scotland. Long may he continue to exhibit the beautiful union of unbending integrity, and unruffled gentleness, of greatness and goodness, which has made him beloved by all who know him, and admired by many who never heard his voice. He never concealed an opinion to gain a friend, or made an enemy by the avowal of his convictions.

These sketches embrace, as the title-page says, ministers of all denominations—of course those of the Free Church are not excluded. Here is an outline of the Coryphaeus of that body, to whose restless activity, and administrative talent, it owes no small portion of its powerful organisation.

‘As soon as the neighbouring bells had ceased, a person under the middle size, wrapped in a huge pulpit gown, issued from the vestry, and, with hurried steps, ascended the pulpit stairs, and having flung himself into the corner of the pulpit, hastily snatched up the psalm book, and turned its leaves. Having passed his fingers through his dishevelled hair, and made a number of hasty movements, he rose, and in a harsh guttural voice, gave out the 20th Psalm. . . . Singing being over, the preacher precipitately arose, and leaning forward, poured forth a prayer, remarkable for its simplicity, seriousness, and energy. . . . The preacher again suddenly rose after singing, and opened the Bible near the commencement. He turned over the leaves *in quantities, pressing them down with force*, till he reached his text.’—p. 114—115.

Many of our readers will recognize in this a very graphic likeness of Dr. Candlish, a man of activity, if ever there lived one. He is minister of one of the largest and most intelligent congregations in Edinburgh ; is a fertile author ; chairman of committees without end ; the foremost in church courts, and all

sorts of societies connected with the Free Church. Perpetual motion seems the first necessity of his being.

‘Rest seems to be out of his province; activity, excitement, is his very element, and his feeble frame cannot long endure under such labour. He seems to work as if his days were short.’

It is a natural accompaniment of such a temperament that ‘he seems to have no patience for a searching analysis,—for the slow process of an extensive induction. He seizes a thought at once, and becomes so enraptured with it, that he has neither time nor taste to question its accuracy. He assumes *that* at once, and proceeds to use it, with as much confidence as though he had acquired it with herculean labour, and examined it with microscopic minuteness.’

We take this to be a very fair estimate of Dr. Candlish. If we add that his highly excitable temperament is under the guidance of one over-mastering thought—‘the Free Church of Scotland,—the witness for Christ, as prophet, priest, and king,’ we have a pretty accurate idea of the man who stands foremost in her ranks; and who has, by his energy, the earnest contagious enthusiasm of his pulpit appeals, and his indomitable perseverance, founded on a faith like that of an old covenanter, done more than any other man to place her in her present position, both as regards the intense sympathy of her friends, and the respectful hostility of her opponents.

Scotland has not for many years been a favourable soil for the production of a learned ministry. While the average attainments of her preachers have been, perhaps, above the level of England, she has nourished none to cope with the giants of the south. There have been no rich endowments to make men scholars for the hope of gaining them, and sluggards, for the sake of enjoying them when gained, as has been the case in England. Her scholars have been preachers in the constant discharge of the duties of their office; and if this peculiarity has, to some extent, circumscribed their attainments, it has had the healthy effect of ensuring a practical adaptation in the direction of their studies, and an extensive communication of their results.

The name of Dr. John Brown, of Edinburgh, is known to all biblical scholars, as the worthy descendant of a family, in which exegetical talent seems hereditary. His high reputation has been recently increased by his exposition of Peter,\*—the reprint, we believe, of some of his ordinary pulpit addresses. We find the following sketch of this gentleman.

‘In these days of superficial theological thinking, and of a wild and unbridled imagination, Dr. Brown stands at the top of his profession,

\* See Eclectic Review—September, 1848.

as a patient and persevering investigator, as a calm and profound philologist, and as a correct and severe logician. He brings from his texts, not what he would wish them to teach, nor what they might be supposed to imply, but what they most naturally and unexceptionably contain. Like all profound scholars, he gives the results, not the details of his research. The pulpit pedant is astonished that the Bible is so miserably translated, and quotes as his own the speculations of some flimsy bibliographer (?). He can trace the simplest word back through half-a-dozen languages, to its Hebrew, Greek, or Gaelic root, and, after giving a hundred and fifty meanings which it might, could, should, or would have had, during the lapse of linguistic ages, he fixes on one meaning, because it is the right meaning. To rebuke all this pedantry, Dr. Brown conceals the process, and unostentatiously states the finding.'—pp. 276, 277.

We do not much admire the style of this extract, but we do most ardently wish that its spirit might penetrate to the pulpits of those who are preachers and not critics, who make texts playthings, and treat their Bibles as if they were puzzle-maps, whose great beauty consisted in a capacity of being taken to pieces; and of that smaller class, who are critics and not preachers, disguising pages from lexicons as sermons. Another feature of Dr. Brown's preaching might be very advantageously imitated.

'He is careful to show that the scriptures are not only consistent with themselves, but that their teachings are also in unison with right reason. The great mass of scripture expounders of the present day, seem to consider it necessary to shut their eyes against their own existence, and against the external universe, that they may look on the scriptures only.'

'These be truths,' we fear. What wonder, that from a hundred churches we hear the cry, 'Ichabod—the glory is departed'?

A striking sketch of the manner of this eminent man appears worthy of transference to these pages.

'Though he makes no approach to the fury of a Chalmers, there is often much in his manner to recall the extraordinary appearances of that mightiest of preachers. There is the same uncouth, unmodulated and earnest voice, the same hastening, pauselessly, onward, and the same breathless attention commanded. Brown is Chalmers chained. He labours as intensely, but he wants the fancy and the fury which fascinated and overwhelmed. The wings of his imagination have been shorn by the instruments he employs in his critical and analytical operations.

We are very much inclined to question the philosophy of the last sentence, but let this pass. We are more concerned with the violence done to our feelings by such sketches. There is a species of indelicacy in thus characterising living men. We



turn from these, therefore, to a brief extract from the sketch of one who has just departed, the late (alas, that we should have to say late!) Dr. Russell, of Dundee. There were many things about him that make the task of painting easy. A man, who, for forty years, was never absent from his pulpit a single Sabbath from bad health, and who during all that time, kept up an uninterrupted course of expository preaching with as few signs of flagging at the end, as at the beginning, must have been a strong man, physically and mentally. We know of few men who conveyed so thoroughly the idea of real solid thinking. Grace was out of the question. It never entered the speaker's mind, that there was such a thing as a flight of fancy, or a burst of eloquence, or a sparkle of imagination. In this he shared with many other preachers, but then it never entered the hearer's thoughts, that such things would be an improvement, and there unfortunately Dr. Russell had fewer companions. John Foster speaks of the lamentable scarcity of conclusive preaching. Dr. Russell was a conclusive speaker, and his almost only action, an emphatic, if not very elegant, motion of the head at the close of each point that was discussed—seemed to say 'that's settled.' But we are assuming the place of our sketcher.

'As a consecutive and profound thinker, Dr. Russell has probably no clerical rivals. He not only forms a distinct idea of the outline of his subject, but the entire filling-up is done mentally, without writing, or any of the usual helps to composition. His discourses bear innumerable indications of severe thought. In England, as well as in Scotland, he is known as the minister with the long texts, and this is particularly illustrative of his mental character. Instead of allowing his fancy to run riot on some insulated passage, he thinks according to the analogy of Scripture.—p. 333.

'As his thinking is his own, so also is the order of his discourses. In their exordium, while many preachers keep a respectful distance from their subject, to avoid anticipation, Dr. Russell, in his very first sentence, plunges into the heart of his subject. To all fears of anticipating himself, or prematurely exhausting his ideas, he seems an utter stranger.'

Thus, labouring with all the earnestness of his nature, he lived. On the last Sabbath of his life, he preached, as usual, three times, went home and died, leaving behind him many more brilliant, many more nimble, but few more thoughtful, substantial scriptural teachers. 'Help Lord! for the godly man ceaseth.'

From these extracts, our readers will see that the volume before us is more than a mere collection of loose disjointed talk. It does not abound with anecdote; perhaps there is too little of

that which is usually the staple of books of the same class, but it contains many correct likenesses, and what is better, a great deal of sound discussion of the principles of pulpit teaching. Our readers will agree with us, that such sketches, in each case, as we have seen, accompanied with one, and sometimes with two outlines of a sermon, appearing weekly in a provincial newspaper,\* not professedly a religious periodical, present a somewhat noticeable phenomenon, and are an inlet into the religious state of the country, where they are popular. They indicate a church-going population, one that has an interest in the machinery of religious movements, to an extent beyond what is common in other parts of the empire, but people who go to church, and like to talk about theology, are not necessarily a religious people. Where they are not, they are, of all men, the hardest to reach. Their hearts are encrusted with a thick coat of dry divinity, and every appeal to conscience is first of all deprived of vital power, that they may dissect it, and decide whether it be sound doctrine or not. Such, however, is the characteristic of a great mass of our Scottish countrymen. It comes to be an important question, what share in this state of things have our Scottish Clergy? Are they as a whole, fit to cope with it? Are they altering it? This volume has an interest, as affording material for answering such questions, which have importance, not only for the north, but for the south. Taking, then, the fifty names here mentioned as on the whole above the average of the occupants of Scottish pulpits, which we are clearly warranted to do, we find, on glancing over the published sketches of their pulpit discourses, many signs of intellectual power, of sound judgment, of extensive scriptural knowledge; but we miss what we should like to have seen, traces of their being men, who had loved, and wept, and suffered, and lived—men of like passions with their auditors. There is less than we could wish of an attempt to make preaching what it ought to be, the vehicle of communicating impulse to all the sympathies of the heart, as well as food for the brain. And after all that has been said about an earnest ministry, and an educated ministry, we think that here will be found the great want of our churches of the present day. We need men who shall find in their Bibles something more than theology, who shall see in their congregations something more than so many reservoirs, to be filled with doctrinal teaching; men who will trust to their own hearts, at least as much as to their knowledge

\* The Glasgow Examiner, a paper of considerable ability and popular politics.

of systematic divinity ; men who will carry to the pulpit, the common speech of every day life, refined and elevated, and utter the divine message, not as a thing to be anatomised, but to be lived by. We often hear good men praying that their minister would preach as dying unto dying men. We wish, that while that is remembered, they would more often preach as *living* men unto living men. We are not pleading for a secularizing of pulpit teaching, nor for a vulgarizing of the mode of address ; but we do think it of no small importance, that both matter and mode should be less moulded in the forms of two centuries ago.

It is a fact that deserves notice, that the men who have been most useful preachers, who are wielding the greatest influence on the present generation, and have especially laid hold of the young men of the day, are those who, differing widely in every thing else, have agreed in this, to let the old traditional stereotypes of firstly, secondly, thirdly, and the still more wearisome stereotypes of thought, of which these forms were but the outward sign, go to the wall,—and have spoken as men who believed that christianity should be carried into all the corners of daily life, and believing that, were not afraid to reverse the process, and bring all the incidents of daily life to the pulpit. We find in this volume the following sketch of Mr. Guthrie, a minister of the Free Church.

‘ He never almost treats his hearers to weary syllogisms, to dry argumentative expositions of particular doctrines, over which your eyes get dull, and your faculties numb. These he disposes of, when they come in his way, very shortly, as important, but as secondary matters. His preaching resembles more a conversation addressed to each individual hearer than a sermon : each feels as if the pastor were speaking to him alone. Were we to describe it in other words, we might make use of a Scottish phrase, and say it has a strong resemblance to a homely crack.’  
—p. 344.

This description will remind many of a minister in this metropolis, one of the finest illustrations we know of the possibility of adopting such a tone of preaching, as shall neither freeze into cold abstraction, nor evaporate into mere sound and fury ; a gentleman whose sermons may be taken as showing that familiar preaching need not be either poor in thought or bald in language, but may glow with heart and be instinct with intellect. No one who has been in the Weigh House Chapel, and looked at its minister, and the manly intelligent heads he has in his pews, will doubt what is the kind of preaching that the present day requires.

Now we find little of this in these published sermons of



the Scotch ministry. The '*genius loci*' has been too strong for them. They naturally yield to the current, and supply their hearers with sound truth undoubtedly, with most unexceptionable divinity, full measure, pressed down, and running over; but does it *live*? We wish to be understood as speaking generally. There are brilliant exceptions, but these are not the rule.

We believe that many of these gentlemen follow the course they have adopted systematically, from an estimate of the intention of preaching, which we cannot but think a mistaken one. We have no space to enter into the discussion here, but we should gladly know that some abler pen had undertaken to settle, 'What is the true idea of the aim of pulpit addresses?' We think we can see what it is not. It is not surely the case, as Mr. Martineau maintains, that preaching is essentially a lyric expression of the soul; but that is nearer the truth than the popular notion, that the aim of preaching should be *didactic*. This is a very common notion. It is the one most usually acted on, whether consciously or unconsciously, both by preachers in their preparations, and by hearers in their criticisms. Even if it had been true once, the peculiar features of the present day should modify that. It was natural that, when the pulpit was the only means of intellectual impression, its occupant should have been a popular lecturer, and a teacher, and a politician, and an instructor in theology. But now-a-days, every one of these functions is better discharged by the press. What then is left for the pulpit to do? We would that its occupants would weigh the question, and come to some definite conclusion, as to what should be the answer. There is a large part of it in Goethe's saying, 'Give them not loaves of bread, but seed-corn.'

We believe that, until this question be answered by each minister for himself, we shall continue to hear the complaints that have been so common lately. These Jeremiads have, however, we think, been too universally prevalent. There is no doubt that the pulpit does not possess the influence it might be expected to have. We quite admit that; but when we are told that it does not even possess what it once had, we altogether dissent. What period shall we find where it had more weight? Shall we choose the Catholic times, when there were no sermons but on holy days? Shall we choose the Reformation period? It had influence then; but that was owing to extraneous causes. A pulpit whose occupant could compel attention, by arguments drawn from Smithfield and Tower Hill, was not likely to stand without hearers about it. Shall we take Charles's time? Were there not at work, then, causes, political and such like, which gave it factitious importance? and do

we not fall into the error of fancying that, because we have left on record the influence which one or two giant minds had, all the ministers were Howes, and all the congregations like those that listened to him. Shall we take the age of the Restoration—that blessed time? Was the reign of James marked by a general influence exercised by the pulpit of England on the people? Did the last century—frigid at the beginning, furious at the close, irreligious throughout—bear any deep traces of pulpit influence? We think that there is little sign of the former times having been better than now, and would not, therefore, speak of deterioration. We rather would indulge the hope, that all the noise recently made about failure and languor, will end in each man who stands in the position of a preacher of the gospel examining whether he has had the right idea of the extent of his work, of the nature of his instruments, of the character of his materials. If there be errors in these points, or a want of adaptation of the one to the other, what can we expect but inefficiency?

We look on such volumes as the present, as very useful auxiliaries to urging the importance of such inquiries on ministers. There can be no doubt, that its comparative immunity from critical notice has injured the pulpit. Sacred subjects have been thought to shelter the man who touched them from all criticism, excepting the irrational likes and dislikes of hearers, who proportioned their praise to the length and the orthodoxy of the discourse. Thus, secure from all remark but that of friends, or of enemies, who could only say, 'I did not think much of that,' a carelessness has been engendered, which has grown still more common from the notion, that to preach without study was a mark of genius, or a token of spiritual-mindedness.

We are glad to see any signs of breaking up this notion, by the application of criticism to the pulpit. The process, no doubt, has been painful to some of the gentlemen who hastily strung together a few crudities, with the notion, 'That will do,' little dreaming, that in this hastily tacked together *dis-habille*, they were to appear in 'Our Scottish Clergy.' But we hope that their mortification may lead to contrite forsaking of the fatal notion, that preaching is a thing independent of study. It is high time that this idea should cease to be operative on ministers, that baldness and insipidity should be deferentially received, because they are uttered on a Sabbath day, in a place of worship. We have mind in the pews; we must have mind from the pulpit. We have men of active life in the pews; give us no sluggard in the pulpit. We have men in the pews with hearts, who have a daily struggle; let the man in the pulpit show them that he, too, has struggled, and has lived.

ART. V.—*What has Religion to do with Politics? The Question considered in Letters to his Son.* By David R. Morier, Esq., late Her Majesty's Plenipotentiary in Switzerland. London: John Parker.

IN our September number we showed, in reviewing Mr. Mill's treatise, why political economy cannot help society; and we now propose briefly to examine the claims of religion and government to accomplish the same object. Discarding all theories, we set out from the admitted fact, that vast masses of poverty and suffering exist in society, which, it is the general, the almost universal opinion, ought not to exist, and ought to be, and can be lessened or removed. To that end, and no other, do men propose political reforms, or dare to commence revolutions. The conviction deeply felt, whether right or wrong, that social misery can be, and ought to be diminished, if not wholly got rid of, by proper regulations on the part of government, is a goad to almost innumerable exertions, in the good and the wise, and the parent of even more schemes than exertions in the imaginative, to effect social improvement. We need scarcely remind our readers of the efforts made of late by the opulent classes, to promote education, to improve the public health, to provide better dwellings, baths and washhouses, for the poor; nor of the larger schemes of national education and of comprehensive emigration, that are continually forced on public attention; nor of the manner in which our literature, vividly reflecting public feelings and public wants, has become suffused with an eloquent advocacy of the interests of the masses. Both moral and pecuniary motives, both aspirations after good for its own sake, and an aversion to the cost of increasing poverty and increasing crime, testify to the enormity of the evils of society, and the general desire to remedy them by new contrivances. In other countries, the demand for social improvement, practically but mistakingly carried into effect, has given rise to violent revolutions, has paralyzed credit, suspended the enterprise, and deranged the industry which feed and sustain society. Our own country has, as yet, escaped with fierce threats and unripe attempts, but is not at ease, nor confident of safety. The point, therefore, to which we propose to confine ourselves,—taking no notice of the influence which religion exercises on the hearts and understandings of individuals, and which may ultimately lead to the establishment of perfect social institutions, is 'what are the *direct* maxims or instructions religion supplies for the guidance of society in its corporate capacity?'



We want to bring distinctly under consideration the important question, how far, using Mr. Morier's language, the Christian law suggests or indicates 'positive laws of human institution,' and not rules of private conduct, that are capable of promoting the common good. Blackstone, as well as Mr. Morier, tells us, that 'human laws derive all their force and authority' 'from the law of nature,' of which 'revealed religion is a part;' but he also assures us, that 'it is still necessary' in each case of the application of the law of nature 'to have recourse to reason,' in order to ascertain what institutions or laws nature prescribes. Nothing, in truth, seems further from the object of revelation, than to prescribe political institutions. It is adapted to human nature in all ages and countries; and that adaptation would have been lost, had it been in any way limited to, or connected with, the forms of government, the relations of property, or any of the positive human institutions that regulate any one society. At present, all the communities of Europe are involved in confusion, civilization seems breaking up into anarchy, mankind is threatened with a chaos; there is everywhere a loud and piercing cry for help; men want happiness or salvation on earth; they are conjured, by all the paid priesthoods of the world, and by all statesmen who endow churches, to rely mainly on them and their teaching, and we want men to inquire what hope have they of finding aid in their doctrines and precepts?

Taking no notice, therefore, of its influence over the conduct of individuals in private life, believing with Montesquieu, as quoted by Mr. Morier, that, '*La religion Chretienne qui ne semble avoir d'objet que la félicité de l'autre vie fait encore notre bonheur dans celle-ci,*' is perfectly true, we must at the same time assert, that the utmost happiness of individuals, and the utmost purity of heart in them, leave them ignorant of the means by which the sovereign power of a state, whether a single despot or a democracy, can promote the welfare of the community. Revelation teaches individuals how they may be good and happy, but there has been no revelation of the means by which politicians can frame constitutions and beneficially govern society. Mr. Morier justly and properly asks:—

'Where is the guide able to lead us through the mighty maze? Does human wisdom pretend to furnish the clue to unravel all its intricacies? Consult the oracles of her high priests, the pagan sophist, or the modern sceptic. The self-styled systems of both are equally contradictory and incoherent, like the productions of a sickly fancy—'*Cujus velut ægri somnia, vanæ finguntur species.*' Again, he says, '*The affairs of the world* seem arrived at that pass, in which, as was observed of the Roman Commonwealth, mankind can no longer bear

either their vices or the remedies for them. There have not, indeed, been wanting doctors of all degrees (from Robespierre to the Pere Enfantin) to prescribe remedies in abundance ; but the *increasing prevalence of the disorder* has furnished ample proof of their utter inefficiency, so that to each of them in their turn may be applied, in a certain sense, the ironical encomium of Tacitus on the Emperor Galba, 'Omnium consensu capax imperii nisi imperasset.'

But it will scarcely be denied, particularly here in England, where a state-church is maintained at great trouble and great expense, or in Ireland, where there is a similar church, and, to boot, one or two catholic priests in every parish, that what the state-priesthood call religion, has had for many years much more influence throughout Europe, over the regulations of society, than the 'pagan sophist or the modern sceptic;' and that those who have taught state-Christianity have, on the whole, been much more followed than either Robespierre or Enfantin. Nobody was ever wild enough to dream, that the patched-up, conquest-born, congress-made, time-collected jumbles of different races and people, under separate governments, called States, the sorry contrivances of man's wit and man's ambition, are to have an existence hereafter, like man himself, the work of the Almighty. For the conduct of states, then, Christianity lays down no rules, except those which it prescribes for the moral government of individuals. One or two leading examples will at once suggest the inadequacy of those rules to guide politicians, or help society in the present emergency.

Religion, for example, commands us to respect property, 'Thou shalt not steal,' but it does not define and describe property. That important duty is left to instinct or reason, and the wisdom of the civil magistrate. The command takes for granted, that the knowledge of what constitutes property is already in existence, that every one knows what belongs to himself and others. The right of property being the great basis of all social relations, as well as of the whole political structure, it will be at once seen that, by leaving it undefined, religion leaves us without any light whatever, to form, as instinct and reason direct us, or as custom dictates, the whole of our social and political relations.

Property in land, called real property, to distinguish it from subordinate property, the most important of all such rights, so far as concerns the political structure and the welfare of society, is settled by the sovereign authority. The crown claims the whole soil of the empire, and unless a right derived directly, or remotely, from it, be exhibited, no portion of the soil can be legally owned or used. At the present moment

there is a question of the ownership of the whole soil of Ireland, and that, it is well known, was on two or three occasions parcelled out amongst the followers of our Henrys or Edwards, or the successful soldiers of Cromwell. All existing rights to the land there, are generally derived from those appropriations. All over Europe the right to the soil rests on similar violent appropriations that have been, and are, sanctioned by custom. At the present time, the sovereign authority, acting through the Colonial Office, is settling the appropriation of large districts of land, future kingdoms, perhaps, in South Australia, New Zealand, and Canada. It is disposing of vast continents, and is about to confer, as a *bonne bouche*, the whole of Vancouver's Island on the Hudson's Bay Company.

On these momentous appropriations, the basis of property in future, the sources of weal and woe through centuries, religion gives no opinion; she does not inform us, pregnant as they are with the happiness or misery of nations, whether they be right or wrong. The Colonial Office assumes them to be right, and has assumed each one of the numerous changes it has made in the mode of appropriating waste land in the colonies to have been also right, while each of the modes it has adopted has, one after the other, been loudly condemned both in the colonies and at home. Neither there nor here was religion in any way appealed to as justifying or condemning the appropriation, or as capable of deciding the important dispute. Certainly, the former, somewhat similar appropriations of land in Ireland, now stand condemned by their consequences; but religion, like reason, only condemns them, because their consequences are evil, and her voice was silent, when the appropriations were made. Nay, she rather urged the first conquest of Ireland, and in her name was the soil subsequently confiscated, and appropriated to protestants. On the all-important point of the appropriation of the soil, involving in one state, primogeniture, and a feudal aristocracy, and in another, the growth of a poor, passionate, and uninformed democracy, with all their different consequences,—the very pivot on which turn all political arrangements, religion supplies us with no rules; and, accordingly, men in making the appropriation, have been, and are, guided by their wants, their passions, and the ignorant devices of their own hearts.

Whatever knowledge may now be extant in the government of the United States and the government of England, and whatever provision may now be made by them as to the lands under their control, for a dense population in future, it is quite certain that no foreknowledge of the present condition of Europe presided over the appropriation of the soil at



any former period. No provision was then made for the population as it now exists. No man thought of that, or could think of it. The appropriation was made to suit the purposes of the conquerors then. Even if not vicious in its origin, it is vicious in relation to the present condition of the population of Europe. Far from having been made with a view to the present condition of Europe, or allowed to conform to it, one great object of European legislation has always been, to maintain the old aristocratic appropriation of the soil in spite of the necessities of an increasing population; and thus to subordinate the living principle of society to an old rule of violence. All the interests and wants of the population have been made by the State, so far as it could make them subservient to aristocratic grandeur. For that, even the number of the population has been limited, by a law to forbid commerce, and especially the importation of food. The old appropriation of the soil has been treated by the State as if it were a sacred principle, and all attempts to change it as equivalent to a violation of the command 'Thou shalt not steal.' That has been the corner-stone of its policy, and to that every other interest has been moulded and fitted. Political society then is built on a principle which is probably erroneous; and though religion, looking at the consequences of this aristocratic appropriation, informs us, as our reason informs us, that it, and the legislation consequent on it, are wrong, yet, *a priori*, religion supplies no means of detecting the error, nor does she inform us, what appropriation would be correct and proper.

Even if the appropriation of the soil were not the offspring of rapacity rather than wisdom, we should find it hard to believe, that a rule established in the fifth or tenth century, when population was not a sixth of its present amount, when there was little or no division of labour, no trade, no banking, no credit, can be now suitable to society. Were such an appropriation of the soil now proposed for the first time it would be instantly and universally scouted. Can any man conceive, if England, Ireland, and Scotland, were held in common, the hubbub, the resistance, the war which would ensue, were it seriously proposed to divide the whole as at present amongst a comparatively few dukes, marquises, lords, and squires? So opposed is such a scheme to reason and the course of nature, that legislation, continually directed to maintain the whole soil in the hands of a few, though it have been obeyed, has been inadequate to that end. Subsequent to the Norman conquest, when whole counties were appropriated by the conqueror's chief followers, England has been gradually divided, in comparatively smaller portions, amongst a greater number of persons. The most rigid entails have been

unable to prevent it. Invariably the great proprietors have, at some time or other, dissipated and dispersed their original possessions, or the accumulated possessions that have fallen to the heir of several families. The Buckingham property is not the only one that has been distributed under the hammer of the auctioneer. Nature abhors aristocratic appropriation, and sets it aside. To allow some freedom of action, and give effect to that natural course by which great estates are broken up, was the object of a much praised act of the last session of parliament. After a stubborn resistance on the part of a few landlords, and many doleful prognostics of the Irish lawyers interested in maintaining abuses, the Encumbered Estates Ireland Bill was carried through both Houses, and will enable and compel the nominal lords of numerous acres to share them with others, who are already the real owners of their value.

In all that concerns the appropriation of land, and the conditions which determine a right of property, though of fundamental importance to the good government and welfare of society, we have no other guide than instinct, experience, and reason. It is our decided purpose to abstain at present from saying anything against the existing right of property; we urge nothing at this moment against the appropriation of land as it now prevails; we confine ourselves to the fact, that neither the right of property, nor the appropriation of the soil, is defined, settled, or regulated by religion, or morality; and that, in judging of them, we can only appeal to reason, expediency, and experience. To propose new rules for the distribution of property, as is the case in France, is not necessarily, therefore, in opposition to religion, or the violation of a moral law. But the existing right of property, and the existing appropriation of the soil, are precisely the questions at issue between the few and the many,—the aristocracy and the democracy in the greater part of Europe, between the masses and those who claim to be their masters, chiefly on account of their ability to settle rights, and prescribe duties not otherwise provided for; and, precisely, on these interesting and absorbing questions, religion, apart from experience, utters no voice and sheds no light.

On other social questions of great importance we are equally left to the exclusive guidance of our senses. Population is said to be redundant in places, and the evils of society are attributed to that, but religion is silent, too, on this subject. She supplies no rules for adjusting population to territory. The lawgiver and the people are alike uninstructed on this point, the foundation of all society. That is a great secret we must learn by observation, as we learn the flow and ebb of the tide, and the distance of the planets. It may even be broadly said,

that many of the rules which religion prescribes for the conduct of individuals would be regarded as ruinous by many statesmen. She prescribes forbearance, charity, and love between man and man; she impresses on us to feed the hungry and clothe the naked; but for statesmen to practise forbearance, is to give impunity to crime, or a premium on injustice; for them to be guided by charity and love, and attempt to supply the wants of the people is to encourage idleness, to increase beggary, to augment a dependent and pauperised population, and increase all the social evils therewith connected. Wages are now miserably low owing to the excess of people in relation to capital seeking employment. Twopence halfpenny is paid for making a shirt, and from fourpence to eightpence for a day's labour in Ireland. Religion teaches us to give the labourer his hire, but leaves the amount of that to be settled by the higgling of the market. She prescribes freedom, equality, justice, but is satisfied with twopence halfpenny a day for making a shirt, if that be the result of a free and fair competition. She may whisper to a man to be kind and generous, but if he pay beyond the market price, the chances are that he will be ruined himself. These are merely specimens of most important social relations, which are at this moment the subject of continual, and sometimes of fierce and bloody controversy, and which we are imperatively required to settle and arrange by reason, judging by expediency, for religion gives us neither help nor guidance.

Religion enjoins us also to give unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, but as to what things properly belong to Cæsar, the point now in dispute, it leaves us in the dark. What power should a government possess, what taxes should it levy? We require less now to know who should be Cæsar, than what things should be his. So we are commanded to obey those in authority, but the unenfranchised, the Chartists, contend that the existing authority is illegitimate. Men do not dispute about the propriety of obedience so much, as about what should be commanded. The crime of the Irish, according to Lord John Russell's speech, on July 22, was an attempt to overthrow the government they were bound to obey. They declared they were not bound to obey it, that its laws were bad; and they were compelled to submit. From custom the aristocracy claim the power of governing; the democracy, from a perception that the aristocracy have acted unjustly, and used the power entrusted to them for the common good, to promote their own selfish purposes, deny the justice of their claim, and demand political power, as they possess physical and moral power, for themselves. Between the two, there is no umpire but reason. Prin-



ciples of natural justice and logical conclusions drawn from the fundamental principles of the social union, whatever theory may be adopted of its origin, may suggest what is due to the people; and the principles of religion enforcing on us the love of justice and of charity may enlighten our logic; but, generally speaking, religion takes for granted the existence of a governing power, or a Cæsar, of a settlement and agreement amongst men as to what things belong to him, and throws no light on what ought to be his, and what authority he should exercise. These, however, are the subjects that now chafe society into angry commotion.

If ever political topics fell within the domain of religion, as under the Jewish dispensation, which prescribed a complete code of civil ordinances, those which now agitate the world have passed beyond it. It is characteristic of them, that they concern the fundamental principles of political (not industrial) society: for we have only to do with political society, or states; and they seem to lie, except as they are indirectly impinged on, wholly beyond the bounds and scope of Christianity. There is no other broader, deeper, and more searching code, to which they can be subject, except the code that we all combine to frame, and that every generation helps to complete, of the laws of nature. In that code, in which alone we can find directions, a new book appears to have recently been opened. The evils complained of are the proofs that nature condemns some of our proceedings; they are her admonitions, her voice warning us against the cause of them; but though she warn us against the evils, she too leaves society to the tentative projects of expediency to find out the good. There is but one right road, while the ways of error are innumerable, and we must, perhaps, tread all the latter before we reach the right. The true path has not yet been discovered. This generation may, perchance, avoid the errors of its predecessors, but, with the best intentions and the greatest knowledge extant, it will be sure, in avoiding former errors, to rush into errors of its own. Unfortunately, that is now generally the case, to a very great degree, and the exasperation felt at the long continuance of aristocratic misrule, has given birth, in most of the capitals of Europe, to democratic excesses that we all deplore.

We are accustomed, however, to look for help much more to government than religion. It is constituted theoretically for the purpose of providing for the welfare of society, and all men now demand from it, and from the means at its command, guidance and succour. The task is flattering to human ambition, and it is readily undertaken. Those who administer government, though they see no further than the most ordinary mor-

tals pretend, if mankind will only obey them, that they can accomplish all that the human heart desires. They do not assume to possess any knowledge of the science of government, if such a science exist, though they have practised the art empirically time out of mind, and have made it their greatest boast to act on the limited rules and circumscribed knowledge of their predecessors. They have merely been conservative of old error and old abuse, and have always resisted the innovations of time, as at variance with the rules of their predecessors. They have run in old tracks, and have never hesitated to sacrifice the people that they might keep in the old constitutional or despotic road they had once entered. They have always tried, though in vain, to model the future of every society, however rapidly it might be growing and changing on the limited and undeveloped past; and we can only be justified in now relying on them to help society, if they have already served and saved mankind.

To answer the important question, what can government do for the salvation of society, we must inquire what it has done; and what can be done by its means in whatever hands its powers may be placed. Within a short period we have seen a multitude of reputations, that seemed freighted with rich stores of improvement and happiness to society shipwrecked. Every hope has been lost, by following the old course, and essaying, by the old instruments, the old arts, and the old means of government, to effect a social regeneration. That is the secret of the failure in France, as yet, and the confusion in Germany. Those who have upset the old systems have supposed that they could, by means of them, effect more good than those who previously administered them; and they have made themselves despised or hated by their error. A brief examination will probably satisfy the reader, though governments have ever been active, and have always appeared to direct society, that all the enduring improvements which we call civilization, have been effected without their help, and very often in spite of their regulations.

The press, for example, is in nowise indebted to them. Government has only tried to corrupt those who take up that portion of social labour, and has either terrified or bribed them to support an untrue system. Its patronage has been more pestiferous, than its avowed opposition and hatred. The latter excited resistance and could be subdued, the former insinuated into the system an intoxicating poison which corrupted the whole. By providing for literary men, it has given a bounty on their business, and it has degraded the class and the calling, by promoting excessive competition. It has made the press subserve the cause of existing government, as if that were eternal truth, in opposition to the cause of the people. Though the

mechanical contrivances of England are the glory of humanity, they owe nothing to government. They are the spontaneous product of intellect, which it has done as little to develop by circumscribing it with old university and church forms, as it has done to develop the national wealth by taxation, monopolies, and restrictions. On every new branch of society, when it has first come into existence, government has looked with distrust, and has sought rather to stifle or kill, than allow it to expand and grow.

The great improvements in the political relations of society made in modern times, such as the emancipation of the catholics, the abolition of the test acts, the reform of the House of Commons, were forced on the dominant aristocracy by the growth of knowledge, and the enlightened demands of the people. The aristocracy in possession of the government, resisted those demands as long as they could, and as long as they dared; and in the end acquiesced in them only to poison the boon. Famine and the League put an end to the corn-laws; as societies for the amelioration of the criminal code, and the abolition of slavery, are the authors of all the humanity introduced as yet into the statute-book, and the emancipation of the Negroes in our colonies. These instances are fresh in every body's recollection; but there is a leading fact in the history of all Europe, about which all modern civilization gathers itself, and from which it nearly all goes forth, not always present to the mind, that illustrates the inefficiency of government in promoting the progress and real greatness of society.

No government has provided for the growth and increase of the middle classes. There is hardly a government of Europe that did not try to prevent their increase and impede their power. For a long period they were exposed to obloquy, plunder, and oppression, from the governing, fighting, monopolizing aristocracy, but they outgrew all these, and subverted the dominion of their aristocratic masters. The increase of trade, the multiplicity of enterprise in modern Europe, the extension of division of labour, greater ingenuity and enlarged knowledge, are all the consequences of the continual growth of the town population, consisting mainly of the middle classes. They are the originators of all new industrial undertakings. To the same circumstance is due, though this is very generally overlooked or denied, the improvement of agriculture. We have been dunned continually with boastings of the patronage of kings and of great land-owning nobles, who have met and twaddled about improvement, and offered bounties on the fattest pig, and the most frugal peasant; but at present, and for several hundred years, the bulk of the produce of agriculture has been



raised to sell. The purchaser, therefore, has been the true and best patron of the agriculturist. There is no encouragement like a rising market, no discouragement like a falling one. The real demand or means of payment for agricultural produce, is the continued increase of the produce of some other industry. The town population, and their continued increase in industry, skill, and wealth, have constituted a continually rising market for the farmers' produce, the continued stimulus to agricultural industry, and been the great source of agricultural improvement. With the improvement of agriculture and the increase of trade, all civilization is closely connected; and thus the civilization of Europe dependent on the growth of the middle classes, far from having been caused by the government, has taken place in hostility to the governing aristocracies of Europe.

Wholly mistaking the origin of the improvement of England, the government and many public writers have ascribed it to the peculiar manner in which land is appropriated, and to the peculiarities of the relation between landlords, tenants, and labourers in England. To the first of these classes they have ascribed all the merit of England's improved agriculture, and they hope for the improvement of Ireland, by introducing the customs of English landlords there. So far as the law is concerned, the appropriation of the land, and the relations between landlords, tenants, and labourers, are, in all essential particulars, the same in both countries. The well known difference in the condition of the two, is the consequence of the growth of a town population of the middle classes in England, of whom there are few or none in Ireland. The opulence and independence acquired by the citizens here, have spread themselves over the rural districts, have fostered the independence of the tenantry, and have bridled, and partly subdued to reason the English landed aristocracy. The influence of the industrious middle classes, not the laws, have caused the improvement in England, for which the idle, or merely law-making aristocracy have taken credit. The government may be justly accused of having caused by confiscation, by religious and political restrictions, and by numerous economical regulations, the present condition of Ireland, of having ruined its trade, and arrested its progress; but it neither foresaw, nor willed, nor promoted the improvement of England. To many portions of that, as they successively arose, the government was hostile; and almost all of them have been cramped and impeded by excise, customs, and other restrictive laws. From leading facts, such as these, we infer that our government has contributed nothing in past times, to promote civilization, and that it can now and in future do little or nothing to save or serve society.

Our government has, we admit, been skilfully conducted in relation to the late commotions in Europe and in Ireland, and has been, for *the ends of government*, eminently successful. Its most determined enemies cannot deny it the merit of having quietly, easily, and effectively, without any loss, and perhaps without incurring much unnecessary expense, put down all that there was of rebellion in Ireland. The work was done with a master hand. The rebellion has become a mockery, it has resolved itself into the old agrarian outrages, and the government has gained in reputation. It has increased its strength, but what can it do to remedy the social evils of Ireland? It can do no more hereafter than it has done heretofore. It has been master before, and it is only master now. It is the instrument of the landlords, and will exclusively serve their purposes. It may bribe the catholic priests to take sides with it; though, what good that can effect, as these men have ever used their influence to keep the people in ignorance of knowledge necessary for earthly salvation, we are not aware; it may, in addition to making them a moral police to serve its purposes, increase, as it is doing, the ordinary police of the country; it may enlist all ranks, all classes in support of its authority, and when it has done all this, it will not have taken one step towards making the people intelligent and skilful, moral, industrious, and wise. It may encourage a few farmers from England or Scotland, to fix themselves in Ireland; there may possibly be a consolidation of farms, and a diminution, as appears to be the case, of small holdings. By such an admixture of people, better habits may, in time, be formed; but the annual drain of food, the foundation of all capital, from Ireland, proves that capital is not required there, and reducing the number of holdings will only throw people on the workhouses, or doom them to starvation.

The change in Ireland, to be accomplished by the united agencies of the government, the landlords, and the catholic priesthood, can only be the continued debasement, ending in the annihilation of a large portion of the population. The augmentation of the police will not increase the supply of food. The payment of the Roman catholic priests will give the labourers either worldly knowledge, skill, nor industry. They know nothing of the arts of life, and cannot teach them. The influence of the Romish church, combined with the power of the government, has brought the country into its present condition; and the wonderful panacea now proposed, is to strengthen the causes of the misery. The utmost that the government can do, is to enforce justice betwixt man and man; but its mode of appropriating the land, and upholding the rights of the landlords, of administering the laws made for the benefit of a class

by the hands of that class, of taxing the people to provide the double guard of a religious and a civil police, is a violation of justice, and can only, by its example, teach that violation to others.

The triumphs of the government in Ireland, prove distinctly that it cannot help the people out of their social difficulties. It can kill them by the slow agencies of hunger and regulations, restrictions and taxation; probably it will kill them, but judges, armies, police, and priests, are impotent to feed and to save. All these are perfect under the Czar, they were perfect under Louis Philippe, they are perfect under the Sultan; and under all those rulers, degradation leading to commotion, and ending in revolution and death, have prevailed. The imperfections of these governments spring from themselves; there is not or was not any popular resistance to impede their action; but, just in proportion as that element is wanting, in proportion as governments are not kept in check by wholesome fear of the people, they become mischievous and ruinous. To the much-admired condition of unopposed, unmitigated, unbridled power, is the military government of England now raised in Ireland, by the success of its police and its armies; and for the promotion of social reform—for the salvation of society there, government will henceforth be quite as efficacious, and no more, than the Czar or the Sultan in his own dominions.

Mr. D'Israeli lately made a long speech, to show that parliament was falling into contempt; and all the journals in the empire have, for months back, echoed the same opinion. The fact is undoubted, though the cause lies deeper than parliamentary orators and journalists suspect. The re-establishing of party warfare, or placing the whole authority of parliament in the hands of ministers, as Mr. D'Israeli and others propose, will only make its proceedings more offensive, or more puerile and worthless, than at present, and hasten the fate to which, in common with other forms of government, it is doomed. The stern despotism of Russia, the mock fraternity of Prussia, the avowed selfishness of the Metternich bureaucracy, the careful bourgeoisie of Louis Philippe, are all condemned; the new constitutional systems, founded on their ruins, are already in decay, and our own system, like the rest, is obeying the same general law. There seems to remain for mankind, as yet untried, only the government of M. Caussidiere, or Mr. Feargus O'Connor, or the government of the mere mob; and from that nobody expects greater benefits, than from the government of Prince Metternich or Louis Philippe.

The continual disappointment suffered from government, does not put an end to hope. Every autumn the parliament is



prorogued amidst general satisfaction, at the termination of its worthless labours. Every spring, however, its re-assembling is hailed with renewed expectations. Men tell each other what great things are to be done by their representatives. Each journalist gets possession of some secret, and intimates some great work its friends are to perform. Ireland is to be at once regenerated or healed, railway accidents are for ever to be put a stop to, no public nuisance of any kind is any longer to be suffered, commerce and banking are to be made as certain and safe as the return of day and night, and social perfection is to be the result of the labours of the legislature. Parliament rises a true phoenix from its ashes, glowing with a many-coloured plumage, redolent of life and vigour, and exciting the joy of the beholders.

The old lingering disease of prurient talk, the cold, clammy, autumnal death, the stifling of all useful work and personal honour are forgotten, and salvation is expected from parliament, as if it had not, year after year, been tried, and failed. The public is cheated by its own fancies. The youth of journalism, when hope is unchecked by experience, seems to revive with every spring. Four or six months' abstinence suffice to produce complete oblivion, and the loudly-expressed contempt of August becomes something like sneaking reverence in January or February. Perhaps the dull sale of the journals about Christmas, and the quicker circulation caused by the assembling of parliament, has some influence over this psychological phenomenon. The greater the disappointment in the fall of the year, the more room there is for hope in the spring; and journalism, annually deluded by its own interest, helps to delude the public. By their own unfounded fancies both are tricked, year after year, into a renewed reverence for the multifarious talk they have ascertained to be worthless. Between the sabbath-day sermons of the ministers of the established church, which are said, numerous though they be, not to yield twenty sentences worth remembering, and the gabble of parliament, there is not much to choose; but the difference is, that people have long ceased to expect anything except habitual humdrum from the former, while from the latter they yet hope for earthly salvation.

If religion can do nothing for society, and government can do nothing, must we say that there is no hope, that all the aspirations of men after great social improvement, when so much has already taken place, are without foundation, and that society is doomed to oscillate between commercial bankruptcy and a plethora of extravagance; between riotous, licentious abundance, and inactive, shrivelling, dying, penury; between

wild, devastating revolutions and submission to tyranny, that dries up all the sources of life and strength? No, emphatically no; that is a false conclusion. Those aspirations are the instinctive voice of nature guiding individuals to good. They will not be, and they rarely are, when entertained within reasonable limits, disappointed. Individuals achieve much of what they aspire after as individuals—fortune, fame, power—but the aspirations of each one can never be the aspirations of any other, and can never become the rule for the whole. The past improvements of society have been the result of the improvements of individuals. As society gets rich by their separate labour, not by the regulations of government, so it grows in knowledge and civilization by the same means. The exertions of each leads to the social progress of all, and the full developement of each is social perfection. Social greatness, and social happiness, can only be reached by removing restraints on individuals. We may hope much from observation, and from the due application of intellect to the investigation of the social phenomena,—much from a confidence in nature, and from a distrust of individual wisdom, to regulate and govern that society of which it knows not the beginning nor the end, and only knows darkly and imperfectly a little of the present; but we can hope nothing from the action of government. ‘Hope springs eternal,’ and the most enlarged and accurate knowledge, can only change its direction.

Our remarks tend, in this respect, to be negatively, not positively, beneficial. We have attempted to remove two errors that prop up a false system, we have added nothing to the one broad basis on which alone a true system can be founded. It has been said sneeringly, that the French have gained nothing by their revolution, substituting General Cavaignac and a dictatorship for Louis Philippe and his sordid tyranny. In a merely positive sense that is true. But France, with all Europe, has been taught by the failure, the nothingness of political and constitutional systems. Men are beginning to be convinced, that safety is not to be sought, nor found, in republican, any more than in monarchical forms of government. Society cannot be saved by blustering demagogues, or theoretical professors, any more than by rapacious monarchs. New principles must be learned, and systems, not merely names, must be changed. Something like that which the great French revolution has practically done for Europe, we may hope, though in an infinitely less degree, to have done for political science. We have, perhaps, removed an error, and have cleared the ground for others to establish the truth.

In pursuing our own train of thought we have lost sight of

Mr. Morier. His work has similar defects to those of the political economists. He assumes some existing evils, or customs, to be ultimate laws. For him, the basis of all authority is public opinion in its favour. Practically, and in fact, he is right; opinion must, on the whole, at all times have been in favour of every existing government, and opinion, therefore, has been frequently or even generally erroneous. Government, as we have already said, employs means to bias the opinions of the press. Church establishments, with large revenues to be enjoyed only by those who profess a particular creed, are standing bribes to embrace and propound certain opinions which are recommended to acceptance, not by their truth, but by the worldly advantages they bring. Still larger revenues, appropriated to support an opinion favourable to monarchy, tend more forcibly to the same end. No person, as the rule, is admitted to serve the State, or share its revenues, who entertains republican or still more extreme opinions; while the ministers, and those who fill high places, are bound by an oath, as well as their salaries, to preserve the monarchy. All these parties act on a foregone conclusion, and for ever bend their minds to conceive and grasp a prescribed opinion.

The proper basis for opinions, is the impressions which the material world makes on the senses, and those which are pleasurable are readily cherished. As the last resort, all men appeal to facts as the test of all truth. Political opinions are tried by the same test. But when opinion is made a pleasure by enormous bribes, men strive to take a particular view of facts. Interest and passion are enlisted on the side of the large revenue. Thus, even the government that rests on opinion in the freest country of Europe, may not rest on facts, and may be in danger, as we believe it is, from resting only on a bought and bribed opinion which facts are every day contradicting. The great error, and the great fault consequently, of Mr. Morier's book, is, that all its doctrines rest on such an opinion; and beyond that, and beyond the system that buys and bribes, his work affords us no clue to social improvement. The sum of it may be stated to be, 'rest contented with the form of government which opinion approves of,'—'obey and honour the institutions which opinion sanctions;' but the present condition of society indicates the erroneousness of prevalent opinions, and the faultiness of existing institutions. We are now required to look beyond opinion, and examine its origin,—to look into the book of nature, and the laws of the material world, of which society is a part, in order to find the means of reconciling the conflicting claims of different classes, and of rescuing society from the chaos with which it is threatened.



The connection which Mr. Morier traces between religion and politics is, the connection between 'Thou shalt not steal,' and the right of property now and heretofore sanctioned by opinion; he assumes the opinion to be right, but supplies no proofs of its goodness and justice. Not going beyond the opinion of the governing classes, his work throws no light on the social problems of the day. He enforces the eighth commandment, he is eloquent in favour of charity and love, he justly advocates a spiritual religion, and inculcates with fervour the best principles of Christianity, which improve, refine, and exalt individuals, without explaining how either statesmanship, or religion, can now frame, with any chance of success, the policy of governments towards their subjects, or their policy towards one another.

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ART. VI.—*The Autobiography of a Working Man.* By 'One who has Whistled at the Plough.' London: Charles Gilpin, 5, Bishopsgate Street Without. 1848.

THE 'working man who has whistled at the plough' is Alexander Somerville, the soldier in the Scots Greys, who was flogged during the Reform Bill struggle, for writing a political letter in the 'Weekly Dispatch.' One of the impressions which his first manifestations to the public made, was, that he was a man whom it would be worth while to know thoroughly. But, except the one bold fact that he was a private, who had made it known that he would not fight for the boroughmongers, nothing came out clearly and distinctly characteristic of him, at a time when a paragraph about him was worth gold to the newspapers. Seventeen years elapse, and here he is in a good, thick volume, telling us himself the story of his life, and a very interesting story it is, and very ably and graphically told. If his unique position among the private soldiers of the British army excited a general desire to know more of him, this volume gratifies the desire partly, and yet leaves the reader, as the event did, desirous to know more. There are, indeed, such materials of interest in this man and in his life, that we feel sure his volume is one of the few books of the season, of which it will not be convenient for intelligent persons for many a day to say, 'they have not read it.' Moreover, the book is admirably adapted to the time, being full of the subjects universally interesting just now,—

chartism, free trade, parliamentary reform, conspiracy, agitation, and, in short, the conflict between the people and the oligarchy.

We beg to thank Mr. Somerville for the picture he has drawn of the fireside of his father. The worth and beauty of the domestic life of the dissenting and evangelical peasantry of Scotland, is a theme capable of the most artistic treatment. Burns has placed one scene of this life—'The Cotter's Saturday Night'—upon an immortal canvass. Professor John Wilson has portrayed a few features of it, with great delicacy and loveliness. There is a homely truthfulness about the delineations of Mr. Somerville, which make them well worthy of the study of those who would understand the scenes from which old Scotia's greatness rose.

The Somervilles occupied a small farm among the Ochill hills, in the middle of Scotland, called Nether-aichlin-sky. When a young man, the father of Mr. Somerville was a carter, in Alloa, on the Firth of Forth. But his horse Dick dying, the carter became a labourer at a lime work, along with his brother William. An accident made him change this employment to that of a farm labourer. William was so strong, that he could carry three bolls of barley, each boll filling a large sack—one boll by a rope round the sack, in each hand, and another in his teeth. On account of his strength, William was selected to trim the lime in the holds of the vessels, and the dust and the fumes killed him.

Near the village of Ayton, in Berwickshire, a pretty village, the farm labourer became in love with a maid-servant in a farm-house, a young, blooming woman. Her name was Orkney, and she had a female ancestor reputed as a witch. People, to this day, in Ayton, justify unusual sayings and doings, by alleging her authority—'as old Eppy Orkney said,'—'as old Eppy Orkney did.' Mr. Somerville confesses to some veneration for this ancestress, justly deeming the imputation of witchcraft a proof of ill-appreciated superiority of intellect and energy. Fame is fame, though only of witchcraft, just, as Byron has observed, 'a book's a book, although there's nothing in't.'

The scion of the house of Somerville, and the daughter of the house of Orkney, began housekeeping with a good stock of furniture. But the condition of the hovels provided for their class at this period, in the south of Scotland, may be inferred from the circumstance, that none of them had windows. The frugal pair had a small window consisting of one pane of glass, which they carried with them from hovel to hovel. One of these hovels was at Billy Mill, near a witch-haunted bog,

memorable for having nearly swallowed up David Hume the historian, who was a native of Ninewells, in the neighbourhood. Hume missed his footing in the mire, and sticking fast, called for assistance, and was at last heard by some people, who ran to give help. Seeing, however, that it was Hume 'the unbeliever,' they turned back from the amiable philosopher, remarking, 'Na, na, the deil has him, let the deil keep him.' Mr. Somerville mentions, that Hume got out of the bog, and wrote his history afterwards, but does not relate the means by which the philosopher and historian escaped an absorption of his body, analogous of the absorption his mind had undergone in metaphysical mire. The 'deil' would have had him both ways, the story goes, but for a compassionate milkmaid, who helped him out, after compelling him to say the Lord's prayer, as a proof that he was a true Christian.

The father and mother of Mr. Somerville were what were called anti-burghers, otherwise 'Auld Light Seceders,' the strictest and sternest of Scottish sects, adhering rigidly to the confession of faith, 'the standards' and the traditions and customs of the Covenanters. In the spring of 1811, Alexander, the eleventh and last child of this couple, was born, when a great dearth made the price of corn six pounds five shillings per quarter. His father earned fifteen shillings a week, as a mason's labourer or barrowman, and had in the following year to pay the miller twenty pounds for barley and beans to make bread. This was a memorable circumstance in the history of a mason's labourer, with a family consisting of a wife and eleven children, and an income of fifteen shillings a week. The barrowman, when rain came on, and others went to the public-house, always found something to do at the works. He boasted that 'he had not spent forty shillings on drink for forty years.' He indulged himself with a smoke once a week, every Sunday, while one of the family read a sermon, and he chewed a little tobacco, saying, 'It cheers my old heart, and helps me to get through the hard labour.' Work never prevented family worship, morning or evening. The coldest storm that ever blew did not keep him from the meeting house on a sabbath, though five or ten miles off. At 'winter suppers,' at 'kirnes,' he was a merry man, anecdotal, jocular, and vocal, telling droll stories, and singing lively songs. Saturday night being often the time occupied with these merry-makings, no consideration, no hilarious sympathy, no submission to persuasion, nor trick of putting back the clock, could induce the pious anti-burgher to keep up the festivity by himself or his family, after ten o'clock. He must have family worship over, and all in bed, by twelve o'clock. Such was this Scottish barrowman in Ber-



wickshire, in the end of the last and the beginning of the present century. The account of his wife—the mother—is a suitable companion picture.

The mother added to the income of the family what she could by outfield labour. She did all she could to keep whole, or mended, the clothes of a large family, where all the earnings might have gone for food without their having too much. The rent of their cottage was paid in work. A shearer for the harvest, a stack carrier whenever the thrashing mill was going, a bondager summer and winter, she worked for the farmer, and by her work paid the rent. The mother carried the stacks besides shearing in the harvest time.

‘Should you ever be in Scotland and see Springfield, you will find a row of shabby looking tiled sheds, such they continued to be when I was there last, the centre one of which is about twelve feet by fourteen, and not so high in the walls as will allow a man to get in without stooping. That place without ceiling, or anything beneath the bare tiles of the roof; without a floor save the common clay; without a cupboard or recess of any kind; with no grate but the iron bars which the tenants carried to it, built up and took away when they left it; with no partition of any kind save what the beds made; with no window save four small panes on one side,—it was this house, still a hind’s house at Springfield, for which, to obtain leave to live in, my mother sheared the harvest and carried the stacks.

‘How eight children and father and mother were huddled in that place is not easily told. The worst of it was, that food was so very dear, clothes were so very dear, as to us not to be obtainable, and national glory was so very dear—that glory which Europe was mad about at that time, and for which we, like others, had to pay, that even those bare walls, for which so much of my mother’s labour had to be paid in rent, were less comfortable than they might have been.’—p. 10.

We must not dwell on the portraits of the brothers and sisters. Margaret was always helpful, and after becoming the mother of five children, caught her death while assisting an afflicted family. She made her brother William’s old corduroys into clothes for Alexander. William, when he came home at night, mended the shoes of all the children. Brother James seemed to have most talent of all the family, and his father used to lay his hand on his head and say, ‘Ah! if I had siller I wad make my Jamie a minister.’ It was the lot of James, however, to become a cooper, and thereby Mr. Somerville tells us the world has lost a writer and a philosopher.

There are many thousands of families like this one in Scotland. But the present political system gives the fathers of these families no political status. Instead of the franchise being lodged in the virtuous hands of these men, lawyers, and their

clerks from the large towns, possess it, without residing in the county, and without having any property in it. They are enfranchised merely by a readiness to swear falsely, that they have the property they have not, and the qualification they never had. Morally viewed, instead of the extension of the franchise to every man being a lowering of the franchise, it would be a raising it from the degradation of dependent and bribe-taking electors to the more elevated level of—

‘A virtuous peasantry, their country’s pride.’

We follow the fortunes of Mr. Somerville with interest. At school the farmer’s sons played with the labourer’s sons, in mimicry of what was then, in 1819, publicly going on in Scotland, taking themselves the part of the soldiers, and giving the poorer boys the part of the ‘ragged radicals.’ One day of this rough play sufficed to send our young radical home in a condition so tattered, that his mother exclaimed, ‘What shall I do with those rags?’ The good mother worked nearly the night through at them. Next day ‘soldiers and radicals’ was again the play. The boy who assumed to be king of the school seized the ‘ragged radical,’ and ordered him to be carried off to be hanged and beheaded. But this was beyond patience, and, says the narrative—‘I amazed the king of the school by giving him a blow in the face, which laid him flat upon his back.’ Those who took his part shared his fate. Some one ran to the school-master to tell him that the ‘ragged radical’ was thrashing ‘Master’ Somebody. Soon a court was held, and complainants with bloody noses, stated their charges against the bloody-nosed defendant. Alexander Somerville was denounced as the party who began the fight, and immediately received six cuts or ‘skults,’ with the ‘taws,’ on each hand and then as many on the places made bare by rents as could be laid in until he reached the coal-hole, where he was confined in the bitter cold until evening. Though he read his lesson from the top of the coals that day, most correctly of all his class, he was told his place was at the bottom of it. ‘The soldiers’ he had defeated resorted to the usual weapon of the worsted, and calumniously told their parents that the ragged radical was as dirty as he was quarrelsome. Unless he was separated from them, they would be taken from the school. For six weeks he sat on a form by himself, on the middle of the floor. But this form had moveable legs, and to take these out became the sport of the son of the rich farmer, who was the proprietor of the school-house. He did this thrice in one day, and then, when the school was out, snatched Somerville’s bonnet off his head and threw it into a pool. Pride in a suit of new clothes made the boy thus mis-

chievous. He thought Somerville would follow his bonnet into the puddle, instead of which Somerville pitched him into it after the bonnet, new clothes and all. This affair brought his sufferings to an end. Certain weavers took his part, and stated his case, and, says the autobiographer, 'this dismal period of my life passed over.'

While we are writing, the newspaper brings news that titles of nobility have been abolished, and equality established in Vienna. Class distinctions are always felt by those who have their superiorities as if they conferred rights of tyranny. What was the farmer's son called 'Master' for, if he could not torment a labourer's son with impunity, or a teacher dependent on his father? There must, therefore, we submit, be less tyranny in all its forms in countries in which equality is established.

Space forbids our following the events of the life of Mr. Somerville until he entered the army. But those who wish to realise the life of a youth in his circumstances, will peruse his volume with satisfaction. He worked in a nursery near Edinburgh for some time, and afterwards became a labourer to masons. Of the tyrannical conduct of masons to their labourers he draws a revolting picture, and we have no doubt with truth and accuracy. The poor are the greatest tyrants to the poor. Were they just, kind, true, and honest, to each other, there would be a mitigation of their lot effected superior to any political or social revolution conceivable. It were a sign of only a limited knowledge of mankind to believe in any class of the people. The Book does not tell us to believe in man, nor in woman either, and experience will correct the mistakes of those who indulge in the superstition which denies the depravity of human nature. The position which a wise man ought to take is, not that of advocacy of democracy against aristocracy, of the working classes against the *bourgeoisie*, or of republicans against kings; but of right, truth, and love, against injustice, hatred, and falsehood, for the sake of each and of all.

The description which Mr. Somerville gives of his trial by a court martial, and of his being flogged, is one of the most powerful passages of its kind in the whole range of literature. The cat was weak against his skin, compared with the force of his pen against the present system of discipline in the army.

Our readers will feel little interest in the adventures of Mr. Somerville in Spain, where he served in the Legion under Sir De Lacy Evans. But the feelings excited by the exposure of the spy system in the recent Chartist trials, and the illustrations they afford of the folly of physical force Chartism, invest with unusual interest the portions of this 'Autobiography' which relate to the conspiracies of the working classes.



With a condensation of his account of the political conspiracy under cover of the trades' unions in 1834, we shall conclude our notice. At the first election after the passing of the Reform Act, the analysis of the returns divided the 658 members into 509 Reformers, and 149 Anti-Reformers. 'Experience proved this estimate to be incorrect,' Mr. Somerville remarks, somewhat innocently. Incorrect undoubtedly! The case of the six Dorsetshire labourers, who were transported for combining to raise the wages of their district, made a profound impression of dissatisfaction among the working classes. On the 13th of May, a body of police dispersed a political meeting in Coldbath Fields, and one of them, Robert Colley, was stabbed with a dagger. 'Justifiable homicide' was the verdict which the coroner's jury returned, and which the Court of King's Bench set aside. In tap-rooms, and in workshops, violent talkers wished the dagger had reached Lord Melbourne, the Home Secretary. Meetings were held to memorialise the king to dismiss his ministers, and Mr. O'Connell denounced the authors of the Irish Coercion Bill, and Mr. Attwood reprobated the enemies of liberty who had interfered with the meeting at Coldbath Fields. In the year 1834, the non-electors felt themselves to be a slave-class. The unpopularity of the New Poor Law was at its height. Though the Combination Laws had been repealed, the trades societies still administered their secret oaths, amidst skeletons, blocks, hatchets, rattling chains, and burning brimstone, and blue lights in skulls. Everything was a farce, except the collection of the money. The strike at Derby commanded most sympathy in London. But the mere talkers had the management of most of the societies, and were selected as office-bearers, leaders, and guides. One of the men who acted for Derby decamped with as much money as he could collect. The chief leader of the tailors in their strike filled his pockets and carpet-bag from the treasury, and took shipping for the Continent. But the tailors had their eyes upon him. They pursued him. Ere the packet had left the English coast their boat reached it. They laid the orator upon his back on deck, and they took all the money they could find, except enough to convey him to a foreign country, there to conceal the shame of his dishonesty, and of their gullibility. As the result of their strike, the tailors were compelled to return to work at lower wages than ever, after being starved into signing a declaration that they no longer belonged to any trade's union. The bakers seeing that strikes were useless, resolved, at a public meeting, to spend their funds in a series of jollifications in the public-houses. But there was a minority in the trade who resolved to wipe out this disgrace, by establishing a mutual assurance and

benefit society. This they did in co-operation with their masters, and have maintained it successfully. Of the 'born gentlemen' who took up the cause of the trades' unions, Mr. Somerville is pre-eminently suspicious. One he remarked especially who came into notice in 1834, because he was most enthusiastically applauded for saying in his speeches, no matter how far the other gentlemen upon the platform might go, '*he would go further.*' At the spring assizes of 1834, the Dorchester labourers were sentenced to seven years transportation, for being members of a trades' union and administering illegal oaths. There was a general feeling that they had been hardly dealt with, and petitions in their favour were preparing in every town in the kingdom, when they were hurried out of it.

On the 21st of April, there was to be a grand assemblage of the trades in London, to march from Copenhagen Fields to Kennington Common, calling on the way at the Home Office, and presenting a petition for the release of the Dorsetshire convicts. But the display of numbers to overawe the government, was more the object of the leaders than the liberation of the convicts. Daily and nightly meetings, open and secret, of large numbers and secret committees were held to prepare for the great demonstration. News arrives from France of the success of the trades' unionists of Lyons. They had rescued a member from trial, they received bullets and bayonets bravely, defeated the garrison, and held the town. 'Slaves that we are, knaves let our names ever be, if we suffer our brothers of union to be transported. Death to the tyrant Whigs! Death to ourselves! Destruction to London, and all that it contains, if we be not amply revenged for their wrongs and our own.' Such were the speeches and resolutions of the trade's unionists! An insurrection was expected in Paris. Private information said the men of Leeds were to attack the mills. Two unionists had been rescued from the police at the cost of life, in Oldham. Birmingham, Manchester, Derby, Nottingham, were 'ready to rise.' The news came—'Paris had risen.' But next post brought word that the Parisian insurrection had only been a riot, speedily suppressed by the military; and after four days' fighting in the streets of Lyons, the unionists had been crushed amidst the corpses of seventeen hundred soldiers, and five thousand inhabitants. But the London talkers made light of these defeats. The insurrections in Lyons and Paris had failed because they had not supported each other, and the Parisians had fought in the streets of the poorer inhabitants. 'It must be a blow to the hearts of the tyrants—a stroke on the head, that shall not only do its work effectually and at once, but

be a signal to the whole people to be up, to strike all the tyrants throughout Britain.'

The 21st of April was the day fixed upon for the infliction of this heavy blow. A select few, says this author, were to fall upon Lord Melbourne and his attendants while he was listening to the deputation. Sentries were to be disarmed, ministers were to be seized in their offices, and when the soldiers were rushing to their rescue, the people were to occupy the barracks in St. James's Park. There they would find arms and accoutrements, which would enable them to take the palace, and capture the king and queen, the lords in waiting, and the maids of honour. These were to be held captive until the military capitulated. The military disarmed, the people's guard were to be enrolled. Noblemen and bank directors were to be held as securities for the complete disarmament of the military. As the palace was captured, the bank would be captured. The people's guard were to look after the private banks, until the money could be collected and used for the benefit of the people. The East India House would be the object of similar attentions. The news of the success of this great stroke, of the capture of the palace, the treasury, and the banks, of the captivity of the court, ministry, and maids of honour, would bring the tyrant masters everywhere as suppliants to the feet of their workmen and workwomen, to whom they would disgorge the illgotten wealth of tyranny.

Without the slightest intention of doubting the testimony of Mr. Somerville, we may be allowed to suspect that this scheme owed its origin to the brain of some Powell of 1834. Men quite familiar with the designs of the trades' unions of the period, deny nearly all he says. But to proceed with his account. When an intimation was received from Lord Melbourne that he would receive the deputation, he was set down as 'done for.' Alexander Somerville had acquired, by his conduct in the Scots Greys, the reputation of being 'a man not likely to stick at trifles.' He was urged to join the union. They required a few hundreds of strong and energetic men who would be ready to act. They already had abundance of money, arms, and ammunition. He had suffered from the tyrants in the army, and they would give him an opportunity of avenging himself. Though of no trade, he might join the general union, who were to strike a blow of national importance. He asked what the two or three hundred men they spoke of, were thought to be able to do? They told him they did not think the worse of him for his Scotch caution, but before he could learn more, he must join their body. He became a member. This was on a Saturday night. On the Sunday night they were to meet in



a house near Drury Lane, when he was to be introduced to the secret committee. Somerville began to reflect on all the talk he had heard about seizing the government. He hesitated about going to Drury Lane on the Sunday night. But the desire to know more about the secret committee impelled him. When he reached 'soon after dark the wall of that mean churchyard in Drury Lane, the very earth of which smells of death, he stood there for a time uncertain and brooding over the fate of conspirators, hanged, beheaded, drawn and quartered. He was resolving not to go, when he was seized by the arm, and a person said—

'What, is that you?' 'Why don't you come on? I was looking for you an hour ago. We have been all waiting for you.'

'It won't do,' I said.

'What won't do?'

'To proceed further in the business spoken of last night.' 'Oh! come along. You don't know what the business is. Here are many friends of your's waiting to see you.' Resolved not to be compromised if possible, he entered. In the first apartment he passed through the fumes of tobacco, and through groups of persons who shook his hands as brother unionists, and some of whom were foreigners. One threatened to embrace him, but Somerville fancied his long beard and moustache made him look like Judas Iscariot, and he shrunk from the embrace of democratical fraternity. In the private room, he was hailed as a brother. He seemed the very man for them, for he owed the tyrants a grudge. As a believer in God, it was proposed that he should be sworn. He asked how the notorious and professed unbelievers whom he knew among them were to be bound? It was replied, they believed in the moral obligation of an oath, though not in the religious sanctity of it. He would not engage in any business with others who were not sworn while he was sworn, and he would not swear to do anything until he knew what it was to be. He was told he might be one of the 'glorious band' who were to seize the ministers. Some of the best men in Birmingham, Sheffield, and Nottingham, were to be present, and they would have the benefit of the gallantry of some Poles, and of the experience of certain Parisians who had fought during the 'three days.' He left them, after pledging his word of honour that he would not divulge either their names or their designs. He left them with his faith shaken in democracy.

His horrible secret prevented him from sleeping all night. A happy man would he have been could he have forgotten it, or could he have returned it. Pleading illness as his excuse, he

stayed within doors, brooding over the question whether the duty did not lie upon him of warning the government.

The morning of Monday, the 21st of April, 1834, saw thirty thousand members of the 'Trades' Unions assembled upon Copenhagen Fields, and twenty thousand spectators. Mr. Somerville had written private letters to all the daily newspapers, requesting them to caution the public and the innocent unionists against exposing themselves to danger. The newspapers were fervent in their warnings. Many sight-seers kept within doors. Unionists stayed away. But of those who went, many judging from the applause with which the verdict of *justifiable homicide*, in the case of Colley, the policeman, who was stabbed for interfering with a political meeting in Coldbath Fields, was received, were persuaded that the public approved of resistance. Many men went armed with sharp instruments, used in their trades—carpenters with chisels, shoemakers with knives and awls, coal-heavers with the knives with which they cut their bread, and the tailors with their shears! But only half the tailors mustered, happily for the ministers!

Mr. Somerville had written a letter to Lord Melbourne, warning him of the danger of receiving the deputation. During the Sunday night, twenty-nine pieces of artillery, with shells and shot, were quietly placed in the barracks, in the Bird Cage Walk, in St. James's Palace, on the parade-ground in St. James's Park, and within the closed gates of the Horse Guards. On the roofs of the government offices were placed light 'mountain guns,' to throw shells into the streets commanding Charing Cross and Westminster Bridge. The park gates were closed. The guard at the Bank was strengthened. The military at all the stations were under arms. The police were armed and concealed. Several additional regiments were drawn to the metropolis. The lord mayor and common council were early on the alert, and the citizens were sworn as special constables. Five thousand householders crowded Guildhall. Aides-de-camp, in plain clothes, reconnoitred for the generals, and messages reported every half hour to the mayor and aldermen the proceedings of the Unionists.

The Rev. Dr. Wade, rector of Warwick, Mr. Robert Owen, and others, joined the deputation. The reverend rector was dressed in canonicals, as an Oxford doctor of divinity. He called for silence while he opened the business by prayer, but was overwhelmed with a shout of derision. Mr. —, who led this shout, was, in turn, shouted down, when he reminded the Unionists that the presence of an armed or hostile multitude at the doors of parliament was treason. A rocket was fired at nine o'clock, as the signal to advance. Mr Robert Owen went

off to the Home Office, to be first. Mr. Phillips, the under-secretary, received the deputation, but told them, Lord Melbourne would not give them an audience, nor could their petition be presented, if accompanied by so great an assemblage. After the petition had been taken from its triumphal car, and carried away in a hackney coach, the procession moved onwards by Westminster Bridge to Kennington Common, whence a squadron of cavalry moved out of sight at their approach. The Unionists numbered about thirty thousand, since two hundred of them passed a given spot in a minute, and they took two hours and a half to pass.

Thus passed this Monday, the 21st of April, 1834, as passed a similar day and demonstration, on Monday, the 10th of April, 1848. Mr. Somerville says, he prevented any evil being done. Sir Frederick Roe, at the desire of Lord Melbourne, sent for him, and asked him to divulge more. He steadily refused. With the lights derived from the recent Chartist trials to help us, we suspect that, but for his prudence in acting as he did, Mr. Somerville might have found himself, if he had entered into this conspiracy, the victim of some government spies.

We have abridged the narrative, because we deem it instructive in several points of view.

1. Ever since the Restoration, the getting up of processions of large assemblages, upon pretexts of petitions, has been a trick of the oligarchical police. The disbanded soldiers of Oliver Cromwell were the first victims of it, as the Chartists are the most recent. These assemblages cause alarm, and the imaginations of spies are fertile enough to feed fear with suitable horrors.

2. Processions are admirably adapted for bringing popular privileges into contempt, especially the right of meeting and of petitioning. The conciliation of 'Humbly Sheweth,' is neutralized by an appearance of an attempt to bully a deliberative assembly, by a display of the brute power of numbers. The arguments of the petition address minds shut against them by alarm and by defiance.

3. When furthered by such means, the cause of the people is seen in connexion with the support—not of the best, but of the worst of its supporters. As a means of a display of the numbers of the men who adhere to any cause, these processions are foolish, for all the men of sense are sure to stay away.

At present, the right to hold open-air meetings and processions is suppressed. Since the Restoration, numerous signed petitions have been allowed, but they are illegal. The consequences of monster petitions and monster demonstrations have been, that the people really have no legal and effectual way now



of shewing their adherence to their principles. This is a fact of serious import in these times.

But we must part with our author. We do so with sincere admiration for his graphic powers of writing, and for his good sense in forming his views. But as a critic must have his snarl, we beg to ask him what right he has in these days, when everyone is half blind with reading, to publish an Autobiography without a table of contents, or an index?

ART. VII.—*Memoirs of the Rev. John Smith, Missionary to Demerara.*

By Edwin Angel Wallbridge. With a Preface, by the Rev. W. G. Barrett. London: Charles Gilpin. 1848.

WE welcome the publication of these memoirs as an act of tardy justice to a persecuted and noble-minded man. They ought to have appeared many years since, and would, in substance, have done so, had the religious public duly realized their responsibilities. It is well to review the past. While adapted, under some aspects, to elate, it serves, under others, to depress and mortify. We confess to the latter feeling in recalling the history of which this volume treats. There is much in it we could wish to have been otherwise; and while we rejoice in the justice now rendered, we regret that nearly quarter of a century has elapsed before the character of the martyr, John Smith, has been fully portrayed for the inspection of his countrymen. His career was brief,—his death tragical. He was a pioneer in the army of Christian philanthropists who sought the moral regeneration of the Negro race in our colonies; and his end bore witness against the slave system, and revealed the implacable hostility of the white colonists to all who befriended the children of bondage. ‘How has it happened,’ we are ready to ask, ‘that the memoirs of such a man remained to be published in 1848? How is it that prompt and ample justice was not rendered to his name—that the details of his missionary career were not instantly communicated to the British people, with such disclosures of the inner man,—his tenderness, his fidelity, his diligence, his intimate communion with the Father of Spirits, and his scrupulous devotion to the religious interests of his charge, as would have done justice to the individual, while it vindicated the body to which he belonged?’ We are perfectly aware that much was

done; that the government of the day, for instance, was memorialised, and that the genius of Henry Brougham, in its purest and brightest period, found appropriate occupation in denouncing, before the British parliament, the incarceration and murder of the martyr of Demerara. Of all this we are, of course, informed; yet we cannot divest ourselves of the impression, that there was a grievous failure on the part of the leaders of the religious world. They did not do for the memory of the individual what ought to have been done. The feeling throughout the country was intense and harrowing, but the measures adopted appeared to us then, and appear to us still, to have been selfish, timid, and short-sighted. Men were afraid to grapple with the real evil. The incubus of slavery was upon our leaders; its corrupting influences were in our council chamber, and presided at our council board. Our men were afraid to let it be seen that there was an essential incompatibility between slavery and missionary operations. They sought to cloak the truth, and were not, therefore, sorry to let the wrongs of the individual slide out of public notice.

Some facts, however, were patent, and could not be forgotten. A Christian missionary had been persecuted to death. Every principle of English law had been violated; the safeguards devised by the experience of centuries for the protection of the accused, had been broken down; the ordinary forms of civil judicature were laid aside, and the highest functionaries joined with the lowest and most heated partizan, in hunting down the persecuted missionary. These facts were known throughout the country, and awakened a strong and universal feeling of indignation and disgust. Some measures were, of course, adopted by the missionary authorities at home, and they sufficed to repel the tide of calumny which had set in against the missionary class. Nay, they went further than this, and showed that the martyred missionary, who had been denounced as a fomentor of rebellion,—a plotter of servile war, was a man of untainted morals, of inoffensive demeanour, peaceful in his spirit, and absorbed in his religious vocation. But here they stopped, and, in doing so, they failed to discharge their duty to their martyred brother, and to meet the crisis which had arisen. The truth of the matter is, that the religious public were not then prepared to face their obligations. They talked of slavery as a civil institute, entered into a compromise with its abettors, and, while indignant at the treatment of Mr. Smith, continued to enjoin their missionaries to abstain from interfering with what was termed, in the equivocal language of those days, the domestic institutions of the colonies.

‘It appears,’ said the dying missionary, in his last letter to the

directors,—and his words throw a melancholy light on the vitiated state of feeling then prevalent,—‘as if the directors have some apprehensions of its having been possible that I have diverted my mind, in some measure, from the real object of my mission, and entered into a correspondence and connexion with some of those societies which are formed for the gradual abolition of slavery. I can assure the directors that this is not the case, no letter or correspondence of the kind ever having occurred between me and any society.’

Conciliation was still the order of our councils. A timid and stolid policy was persisted in, until the Jamaica insurrection broke up the unholy compact, by reducing our missionary committees to the alternative of abandoning their West India stations, or of denouncing the inherent wickedness of slavery. So strong was the feeling to which we advert, that, had it been possible to silence William Knibb, the same course would have been persisted in to this day. Happily, he was equal to the crisis, and his fortitude decided the case. Missionary directors were compelled, for very shame, to bestir themselves, when William Knibb—a noble embodiment of the hero character—avowed his determination, come what would, to make known the wrongs of the Negroes to the British people. But we recur to the memoirs before us.

The volume is introduced by Mr. Barrett, whom we are happy to meet in such a service. His brief preface is ably written, and triumphantly shows, in concurrence with the evidence of all other impartial witnesses, that the Emancipation Act has been productive of a larger measure of good than was even predicted. ‘I assert,’ he says, ‘in calm confidence, as an eye-witness, and as having lived in Jamaica and British Guiana many years, and as one who has visited and obtained information from most of the other islands, that the moral and religious results of emancipation have far exceeded our most sanguine expectations.’ Those of our readers—should there be such—who entertain any doubt on this point, will do well to read attentively Mr. Barrett’s preface. He does not disguise his conviction of the sinister arts which are employed to mar the working of abolition, or of the delusive statements and false charges by which it is attempted to mislead the British public. For a brief period these arts may be partially successful, but we have no fear for the issue. A vigilant eye is directed to our western colonies, and so soon as danger is apprehended, the British people will be summoned again into the field to complete the work of mercy. The memoirs introduced by Mr. Barrett are written by a fellow-missionary and now in Guiana. No apology is needed for the ‘style or arrangement’ of the volume, which is written with considerable



taste, and displays throughout the strong and clear convictions of an earnest and sympathising mind. 'It has been penned,' the author informs us, 'amidst the daily and multifarious labours and cares of a mission station. It has been written in Demerara, for the people of Demerara: it is intended mainly, though not exclusively, for 'the freedmen' of this colony, and their children.'

Mr. Smith was born at Rothwell, in Northamptonshire, on the 27th June, 1790. His father was slain in an engagement between the English and French in Egypt, and his mother being left in very straitened circumstances, he was mainly indebted to a Sunday-school for his early education. At the age of fourteen he was apprenticed to a Mr. Blunden, of London, who, perceiving that his education had been neglected, 'kindly offered to instruct him.' His progress under so indulgent a tutor was rapid, but the early part of his London life was not distinguished by any indications of a religious character. Referring afterwards to this period, he says, 'It pleased God in the course of his providence to remove me to London. The charms of the metropolis, the evil insinuations of my new associates, and the wicked propensities of my depraved heart, soon almost entirely effaced the good impressions I had received at the Sunday-school.'

His early impressions, however, were re-awakened in 1809, but the calmness and good hope of religion were not known till the following year, when a sermon preached by Dr. Leifchild, from Isaiah lv. 6, 7, led him to apprehend the remedial character of the Christian system. 'It dispelled,' he says, 'my fears, it eased my conscience, and gave me confidence in the mercy of God.' Scepticism may smile at what it deems religious enthusiasm, and hypocrisy may assume the garb, and talk the language of piety, but ten thousand facts attest the integrity of that great moral change which we term conversion. It is easy to mystify and to sneer at it, but the laws of an inductive philosophy must be discarded before its reality is disproved. Its phenomena in the present case were clearly developed, and became features of permanent character. Mr. Smith abandoned his vain and sinful pleasures, found delight in the religious occupations of the Sunday, became a regular attendant on public worship, associated himself with the church assembling at Tonbridge Chapel, and undertook the unostentatious and self-denying labours of a Sabbath-school. His punctuality, diligence, and good sense, won the confidence of his associates, while his efforts at self-improvement were rewarded by a rapid accumulation of useful knowledge. 'His exhortations,' we are told, 'to the Sabbath-school children were so serious and impressive, that it was evident he

had made rapid progress in the acquisition of divine knowledge, and that his character and capabilities were being formed for a scene of more extensive usefulness. He was indeed preparing, under the gracious providence of God, for that more important field in which he was destined to become so conspicuous.'

Such was the process by which the future missionary was trained for his work. It was at once simple, direct, and in perfect adaptation to its object. He was led on from step to step, and it was only as his success in a subordinate sphere was proved, that he ventured to contemplate the occupation of a higher and more onerous post. This is as it should be, and fatal consequences have ever resulted from the adoption of a different course. The ministry of religion, whether exercised at home or abroad, is no mere profession, to which idleness, imbecility, or indifference may betake themselves. It is a work, a labour, a spiritual vocation, which *he* only should undertake whose own heart is deeply imbued with the religious element, and whose fitness has been tested by appropriate and manifold labours.

We are not surprised to find that Mr. Smith desired to engage in missionary work. Unconsciously to himself he had been preparing for it, and when, therefore, at the close of his apprenticeship, he made a tender of his services to the London Missionary Society, he only did what our previous knowledge of the man might have led us to anticipate. His steadfastness was tried by a delay of two years, when he was placed by the Directors under the tutorage of the late Rev. Samuel Newton, of Witham.

'Under his judicious direction, he pursued with exemplary diligence his classical and theological studies; and conducted himself in such a manner as to secure the cordial esteem of Mr. and Mrs. Newton, with whom he kept up a friendly correspondence long after he left Witham. 'Whilst he was with us,' remarked Mr. Newton, in the year 1820, to a friend, 'our young friend Smith, by his amiable temper, his diligence, and especially his unassuming piety, endeared himself to all, and especially to us. We esteemed him as a son, and never did we part with a young man who had so strongly engaged our affections. I was fully persuaded he would prove a blessing wherever he went, and I am happy to find that he has, by the grace of God, justified my high opinion of him.'—p. 13.

At the close of his preparatory studies, Mr. Smith was appointed to proceed to Demerara, of the religious condition of which then it is scarcely possible to form too low an opinion. The colony had been finally ceded to the British crown by the Dutch, in 1803, when only two churches existed in it, at the distance of one hundred miles from each other. Demerara had been a perfect charnel-house to the Negro race. Its slavery was of the

worst kind, and Christianity was therefore a forbidden guest. In 1805 a Wesleyan missionary had visited the colony, and having informed the Governor that his object was to instruct the negroes in the principles of Christianity, he was told, 'If that be what you are come to do, you must go back. I cannot let you stay here.' 'May it please your Excellency,' inquired the missionary, 'may I call on you another time?' 'No!' was the stern reply; 'there will be no occasion, as you cannot stay. I suppose you will go back in the mail boat.' A better prospect was subsequently opened through the medium of Mr. Post, a proprietor, who wrote to the directors of the London Missionary Society, requesting them to send out a minister for the instruction of his slaves. This led to the appointment of Mr. Wray, who arrived in the colony early in 1808, and was afterwards joined by other labourers. A divine blessing rested on their ministrations, which only served to irritate the great mass of the white inhabitants.

Mr. Smith, with his wife, landed in the colony on the 23rd of February, 1817, and was speedily admonished of what he had to expect from the authorities.

'The expediency,' says Mr. Wallbridge, 'as a matter of state policy, of the religious instruction of the people, had not then been recognised by the planters and colonial authorities. It was thought safer to keep the people in darkness, than to afford them light. When, therefore, two days after his arrival, Mr. Smith was formally introduced by Mr. Elliot, to Governor Murray, he was not received very cordially. Mr. Smith's own account of this interview will best show the reception he met with, and the encouragement which was then given to instruct the people for whom so much pretended concern is now manifested.—'His Excellency frowned upon me. He asked me what I had come to do, and how I purposed to instruct the negroes. I answered, by teaching them to read; by teaching them Dr. Watts's catechisms; and by preaching the gospel in a plain manner.' To which he replied sharply, '*If ever you TEACH A NEGRO TO READ, and I hear of it, I will BANISH YOU from the Colony immediately.*'—p. 21.

Such was the reception given to a British subject by the highest functionary of the colony, and it was in perfect keeping with the part he acted in 1823. We want language to express our sense of its injustice and want of dignity. But there was another side to the picture, and to that we turn. The degraded, brutal, only half human negro, gave the messenger of mercy a far different reception. The white man had refused his claims to kindred, had maligned his character, cruelly trifled with his social sympathies, and sought to unfit him for heaven as he had rendered him miserable on earth. Yet Mr. Smith reported respecting the commencement of his labours: 'Although it was



a wet day, the chapel was nearly full. I was much pleased with the negroes. They were more attentive than many congregations in England. Many, yea very many, are hungry for the bread of life. There is a great prospect for success. There are many hundred negroes who attend my preaching, besides white people.'

The missionaries were not allowed, at this time, to teach the negroes to read, yet many of the latter overcame all the difficulties of their position, and, in spite of wicked laws, and the keen eye of suspicious masters, gained an acquaintance with the first elements of book knowledge. Others, both children and adults, who could not read, knew the catechisms of Dr. Watts and of the Assembly, perfectly well, and what they knew they were most active in their efforts to impart to others. The usual effects followed. Mr. Smith's instruction told on the habits and character of the negroes, and for a time things looked promising.

'Their masters,' he says at the close of 1817, 'speak well of them in general; nor have I heard, (though constantly inquiring,) more than one single complaint made by any master or manager in consequence of religion, and that was, 'That the man was too religious; and he, (the master,) did not think slaves should be so religious. And the fellow, (continued the master), is not satisfied with being religious himself, but stays up at night to preach to others.' I asked whether he had any other fault to find with him: the answer was, 'No; in every other respect he is a good servant; so much so, that I would not sell him for 6,000 guilders, which, according to the present exchange, would be about £460 sterling.' This is a good solid argument of the master's, to prove that religion had not spoiled the negro.'—p. 27.

The missionary band, however, were not without early intimation of the hostility of the whites. 'Our character as a body of missionaries,' he reports, 'is represented in the blackest colours,' and his biographer records that, from the first, 'Mr. Smith, instead of enjoying the countenance and sanction of the civil authorities, and other leading persons, had to contend with increasing reproach and opposition, and was watched with the most suspicious vigilance.' His course, however, was so blameless, that his enemies, or rather the enemies of his religion, could find no occasion against him, and he therefore continued to labour with increasing success among his sable flock. It was a trying post which he occupied. Indeed, the people of this country can form no idea of the difficulties which beset their missionary agents in the colonies. Instances of brutal oppression were perpetually witnessed, which, however harrowing to their feelings, they were, nevertheless, prohibited from reporting. Every feeling of humanity must have prompted an exposure of the wrong, but the wrong-doer was in power, and to expose his cruelty was to insure the hostility of the colonists. One instance

will suffice as an illustration. It is taken from Mr. Smith's private journal, and is only an example of what frequently occurred. It is well that such cases should be kept before the public view. We too readily forget the atrocities practised under the old system, and are thus deluded into sympathy with the interested outcry which the West India party are now so loudly raising. There is, too, a false delicacy on this point, which might admit of excuse if it did not encourage, under a somewhat modified form, the re-enactment of the same misdeeds. Slavery, in name at least, cannot be re-enacted, but the immigration scheme which the colonists now patronise, and which the officials of Downing-street favour, is adapted to produce many of its worst fruits. Mr. Smith records,—

'At the prayer-meeting this morning, I observed one of the deacons of the church pray with unusual affection for such as are persecuted for religion, that the hardships they suffer might not cause them to turn their backs upon the Saviour. When the service was concluded, I inquired of him if all was well where he came from? He said, according to human appearance, all was not well; that last Friday his master had nearly *the whole of his men* severely flogged, because, as his manager told him, they would not work on the preceding Sunday: he remarked that the manner in which he inflicted this punishment added much to its severity; three stakes were driven into the ground, one for each hand, and one for both the feet, to which the poor creatures were tied, stretched out at full length with their backs upward,—a driver was placed on each side of the poor wretches, so fastened, to lash them alternately, that the job might not take up too much time. In this way they were punished one after another, each receiving about fifty lashes on his naked skin. In the course of the day, several others confirmed the fact. No wonder so many of the slaves speak ill of religion, and say it brings them into trouble.'—p. 63.

Such was the state of things during the whole period of Mr. Smith's residence in the colony. That it produced dissatisfaction was inevitable, and that this re-acted on the tempers of brutal managers and overseers cannot be doubted. The planters ruled by terror, and the knowledge of this kept them in perpetual alarm. They felt that a volcano was beneath them, and trembled lest it should explode. Their fears were partially realized in 1823. In the commencement of that year, the British parliament had resolved on the mitigation of West India slavery, and instructions were, in consequence, forwarded to the several crown Colonies, directing the abandonment of the flogging of women, the withdrawal of the whip as a symbol of authority, and other modifications in the treatment of the slaves. This order in council was received by General Murray, on the 7th July, and was regarded by the slaveholders, of whom the Governor was

one, as an unwarrantable interference with their vested rights. It was denounced, in the fiercest tone, at the table of every planter, within the hearing of their domestic slaves, who naturally reported what they heard to others. An impression was, in consequence, extensively made that 'freedom had come out from home,' and when week followed week without any official notification being made of the Instructions, the negroes concluded that the planters had resolved to withhold the boon.

'Another source of irritation arose from the restrictions that had lately been laid on them, especially on the negroes of the east coast, with regard to their attendance at chapel on Sundays. The governor, it appears, under cover of a professed desire to meet the wishes, or rather to comply with the commands of the king's government, but in reality to throw an impediment in the way of the instruction of the slaves, had issued certain instructions, dated 16th May, 1823, under which it was ordered, that no negro should go to worship *without a pass from his master!* Such passes were difficult to obtain, and were often refused. In accordance, too, with the recommendation of Governor Murray, an overseer was sent with the people, under the pretence of seeing that they did attend a place of worship, but in reality to be a spy upon them and their minister.'—p. 73.

In this state of things some of the negroes applied to Mr. Smith to know whether their freedom *had* come out. He informed them that it had not, but that something was intended for their good, and 'advised them to wait patiently until the governor should see fit to make it known.' With this advice they complied for a time, but at length their patience was exhausted, and on the 18th August the slaves on the east coast broke out into open rebellion. On the following Thursday, the 21st, Mr. Smith was summoned, under the authority of Dr. M'Turk, a captain of militia, to enrol himself as a militia-man, which he properly declined, pleading his legal exception as a minister of religion. His arrest speedily followed, with a coarseness and brutality of which colonial history only furnishes examples. The following is Mr. Smith's account, taken from a communication addressed to the first fiscal:—

'In about three-quarters of an hour afterwards, our house was again beset with soldiers, consisting of a troop of cavalry, under the command of Mr. Simpson, and the company of infantry, under the command of Mr. Nurse. Mr. Simpson, in the foulest language and the fiercest manner, demanded why I had dared to disobey Captain M'Turk's orders? I told him, that I was entitled to an exemption from military services. 'D—n your eyes, sir,' said he, 'if you give me any of your logic, I'll sabre you in a minute; if you don't know what martial law is, I'll show you;' at the same time brandishing his sabre in my face, in a menacing manner, and swearing that I was the cause of all this disorder. He



then called for a file of men to seize me, while others ordered my chaise to be got ready; and Mr. Nurse, or some one by his order, I suppose, went up stairs and took away all my papers; some sealed up in a desk, and the others loose in the drawer which had been sealed. As they insisted on Mrs. Smith leaving the house, I requested Captain M'Turk to allow us five minutes to pack up some linen and lock up the place. But, in less than three minutes, I apprehend, a file of soldiers came to the bottom of the stairs, and said to me, 'If *you* don't fetch Mrs. Smith, by God, sir, *we* will.' In this manner we were hurried away from our house and property, without being allowed time to bring away a change of clothes, or to lock up our doors. After keeping us in the road about three-quarters of an hour, they escorted us to town under a military guard.'—p. 87.

On this narrative it is needless to remark. Mr. Smith, it will be perceived, was arrested for refusing to carry arms at the command of Dr. M'Turk, and not as a fomentor or ringleader of rebellion. This charge was an after-thought, and evidently arose from the subornation of witnesses which followed. He was hurried off to George Town, and was incarcerated, together with his faithful wife, in a garret, near the roof of the colony-house, exposed to the burning rays of a sun which, in the shade of their country residence, stood at eighty-five degrees. They were deprived of all change of apparel, were refused the use of pen and ink, and were forbidden, for seven weeks, even to correspond with the directors of the London Missionary Society. The insurrection was instantly extinguished by an overwhelming display of military force, and a terrible retribution on the negroes followed. In the course of a few days the colony returned to its accustomed state. The despatch of Governor Murray to the Colonial Secretary, states, that on the 26th public tranquillity was nearly restored, and by the 1st September all traces of the revolt, save the victims it left, had disappeared. Yet martial law was continued until the 19th of the following January, and advantage was taken of this uncalled-for violation of the rights of British subjects, to constitute a *military* court for the trial, or rather the conviction—this result having been previously resolved on—of a Christian missionary, whose only fault was the honest and diligent discharge of his spiritual vocation. There is no need to comment on the constitution of this court, or on the tenor of its proceedings. But one opinion prevails respecting them. Men of all parties are now agreed, in the words of Lord Brougham, 'that there never was exhibited a greater breach of the law, a more daring violation of justice, a more flagrant contempt of all those forms by which law and justice were wont to be administered, and under which the perpetrators of ordinary acts of judicial oppression are wont to hide

the nakedness of their crimes.' \* On the 24th November, amid 'loud shoutings of joy,' the persecuted missionary was pronounced 'Guilty,' and sentenced 'to be hanged by the neck until dead.' 'But the court,' it was added, 'under all the circumstances of the case, begs humbly to recommend the prisoner, John Smith, to mercy.' Such a verdict, founded on such evidence, and combined with such a recommendation, was never known before. 'No honest jury,' said Dr. Lushington, in the House of Commons, 'ever pronounced such a sentence as that which the court-martial at Demerara pronounced upon Mr. Smith; and it could have emanated from nothing but the most virulent spirit of prejudice. *They knowingly and wilfully gave a false verdict.*' The most remarkable feature of the whole proceeding, was the recommendation to mercy with which the sentence of the court closed. 'They were bold enough,' said Lord Brougham, 'in trying, and convicting, and condemning the victim whom they had lawlessly seized upon; but they trembled to execute a sentence so prodigiously illegal and unjust. . . . And not without reason—not without irrefragable reason did they take the alarm; for verily, if they HAD perpetrated the last act—if they had DARED to take this innocent man's life (one hair of whose head they durst not touch), they must THEMSELVES have died the death of the murderer. Monstrous as the whole proceedings were, and horrid as the sentence that closed them, there is nothing in the trial from first to last so astounding as this recommendation to mercy, coming from persons who affected to believe him guilty of such enormous crimes.' †

Mr. Smith was now removed to the common jail, where he was 'placed in a room on the ground floor, with stagnant water beneath, whose pernicious miasma, passing through the joints of the floor, some of the boards of which were a quarter of an inch apart, were of deadly influence to him in his weak condition. The window of the room, too, required repair; but although Mr. Smith's medical friend loudly complained of these things, he was kept in this unwholesome cell for seven weeks.'

Mr. Smith's frame gradually sank under the rigor of his confinement. It needed not that the sentence of the court-martial should be executed. The hand of death was upon him, and his brutal persecutors rejoiced in the accomplishment of their object, while they cowardly sought to shelter themselves from the punishment which would have followed his murder. He felt that his end was approaching, yet never faltered in his confidence, or regretted the course he had pursued. 'Were I at liberty, and my health restored,' he says to the directors, 'I would again proclaim,

\* Lord Brougham's Speeches, vol. ii. p. 54.

† Ibid. p. 93.

all my days, the glad tidings of salvation amidst similar opposition.' He was a noble-minded and earnest man, and his memory should be had in everlasting remembrance. His faith was a reality, which gave him peace and hope in his dying hours. As he had lived for the good of others, he died in the 'sure and certain hope of a joyful resurrection to everlasting life.' This event occurred on the morning of February 6th, and his murderers forbade his widow to follow his remains to the grave. Woman's devotion, however, was not to be foiled. Prevented from following the corpse of her husband, Mrs. Smith, with her noble-hearted friend, Mrs. Elliott, determined to meet it at the grave. 'They left the jail at half-past three o'clock in the morning, dark as it was, accompanied only by a free black man, with a lanthorn, and proceeded to the burial-place, where they beheld the mournful spectacle of a beloved husband and a dear friend committed to the silent grave. The funeral service was read by the Rev. W. S. Austin, who incurred general odium in the colony, because he dared to vindicate the character of a man whom he believed to be perfectly innocent of the crimes laid to his charge.'

Thus terminated the earthly career of the Martyr of Demerara. The guilt of his murder—for such it really was—lies as heavily on his persecutors, as if they had consummated their crime by dragging him forth to a public and ignominious death. It was in their hearts to do so, and nothing but fear deterred them. They knew the infirm state of his health, were admonished by his medical attendant of the inevitable result of his incarceration in so damp a room, heard from day to day of his growing weakness, and denied him, so far as was in their power, the solace which the dying receive from the kind offices of attendant friendship. 'But the righteous hath hope in his death.' No malice could deprive the dying saint of the inward consciousness of having discharged his duty, or shut out from his soul those ineffable joys, which spring from intimate communion with the Father of spirits. These he possessed in a large measure, and they give a beautiful finish and completeness to a life, whose memoirs we commend to the early perusal of our readers. We thank Mr. Wallbridge and Mr. Barrett for the service they have rendered, and cannot too strongly express our conviction of the importance of such memorials being deeply pondered by the British people.

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ART. VIII.—*The English Review*. No. XIX. September, 1848. London: Rivingtons.

WE have placed the title of the last number of the 'English Review' at the head of our present article, on account of a paper it contains on the British Anti-State-Church Association. It is our intention to examine the principal statements and arguments of this paper, and we proceed to do so under the persuasion that we shall thus furnish ourselves with means of defending the movement they are designed to impugn. A good cause gains as much by the objections of its enemies, as it does by the recommendations of its friends.

It is, perhaps, necessary for us to inform our readers, that 'The English Review' is a quarterly publication, devoted to the interests of the High Church party. It has set itself unceasingly to sing a cuckoo song about the unity, catholicity, and authority, of what it calls Anglicanism. This system it holds in the most exclusive form possible, and it is therefore engaged in a constant warfare, not only with Roman Catholicism and Protestant Dissent, but with all the parties, except its own, into which the Church of England is divided. The effect of this is somewhat curious. Loftier pretensions and more extensive aims than are here asserted and developed, it would be difficult to find; and yet the great characteristic of the ground on which these proud hopes are built is its extreme narrowness. The views both of doctrine and polity entertained are eminently little; their bigotry is of the smallest kind; and a total want of sympathy with anything beyond the very confined limits they embrace, is one of their most striking features. As we have perused the pages of this Review, we have been led to suppose that the air of superiority assumed in it, arises as much from an unconscious attempt to hide the contracted character of what it has to support, as it does from a strong feeling of hostility to what it has to oppose. Whether this be the case or not, there is an evident contrast between the claims advanced and the foundations on which they are made to rest.

The paper on the British Anti-State-Church Association, to which we desire to direct particular attention, has some appearance of fairness on the face of it. When we first read it, we were inclined to think well of the moral principles under the guidance of which it was drawn up; but a second reading shook our faith in its honesty, and every reference we have since made to it, has confirmed the unfavourable opinion we then adopted.

One thing we have been especially impressed with, and that is the employment of objections, in the principles of which the

reviewer himself cannot concur. This manifestation of insincerity we shall have occasion to notice in more than one instance, but we think it our duty to point to it here, as distinctive of the course of observation adopted to a greater degree than our examples will indicate.

What mainly gives the show of fairness to this production, is the evident fact that, its author has fully acquainted himself with the publications of the society on whose proceedings he animadverts, and exercised much diligence in estimating the influence which that society has exerted. \* He has thus done his best to obtain a competent knowledge of the subject about which he has written. When, however, we proceed to inquire as to the use he has made of this knowledge, we discover a sad falling off from integrity. Instead of meeting, or attempting to meet the principal points in the publications he has studied, he has merely picked out for observation those paragraphs which he thought would best answer his purpose of opposition, falsely representing them, as containing the essential matter of the question he professed to discuss. The substantial difficulties of that question, as stated by those with whom he chose to contend, he has invariably passed over, in favour of minor considerations, which served the immediate effect he wished to produce.

We do not at all wonder at this, when we call to mind the avowed motive under whose impulse this writer undertook his work. He tells us, that certain causes now in operation, 'are unquestionably calculated to make the most sincere and devoted churchman feel that the connexion between the church and the state is productive of the most serious, not to say of intolerable evils;' and that 'under such circumstances it is not surprising that numbers, guided by impulse rather than by mature judgment, by zeal, rather than by knowledge, rush to the conclusion, that the severance of the connexion between church and state is not only allowable, but would be a positive benefit to the church; that they should, as the report of the executive committee, for 1847, expresses it, 'turn their eyes to an alternative which practically will bring them alongside of the British Anti-State-Church Association.'—'English Review,' No. xix. p. 128. This strange state of things it was which stimulated him to favour the world with his ideas, on the subject he has taken in hand.

'It is something,' he says, 'to be clearly aware of the danger of this alternative; and it is with a view to bring those who may be tempted into it, acquainted with the company into which their aspirations for a separation between church and state must lead them, rather than from any notion of the intrinsic importance of the Anti-State-Church Asso-

ciation, that we are induced to drag forth that body from its obscure notoriety, and to bring its constitution, its principles, and its action, under the cognizance of the members of the church.'—'English Review,' No. xix. p. 120.

Now this confession we believe to be true. The whole cast of the paper which it is brought forward to justify, proves its truth. That paper is intended to frighten churchmen, not to answer the arguments of dissenters. It would have borne a different character, if the latter had been its object. But that was not its object. Its object was to dress up and paint a monster which would appear particularly terrific to *Anglican* eyes. This object is wrought out with considerable skill; and we suppose many of the 'sincere and devoted' are now trembling before the ghostly figure which has, with pious care, been stuffed for their benefit. With this part of the affair we have, however, nothing to do. We are simply concerned with the plan of action thus exposed, as accounting for the selection of topics for animadversion, which our author has made. To our minds it accounts for this selection most fully. The choice exercised in this matter is just such an one as would most naturally suggest itself to a person who had no desire to enter into the true merits of the case with which he pretended to deal, but who was anxious to avail himself of the prejudices on his own side of that case, which prevailed among those to whom his appeal was addressed. There is some excuse for this politic proceeding, the case being emphatically one of the kind in which,—

'To be direct and honest is not safe.'

After making the statement we have quoted, relative to the motive by which he was led to compose this article, the reviewer proceeds to trace the history of the Association which forms its subject. He discovers its origin in the agitation which was occasioned by the proposal of Sir James Graham's Factory Education Bill. To the opponents of that bill, he most unjustifiably attributes the following sentiment, as descriptive of their opposition:—

'Rather than run the risk of the additional influence which this Education Bill may give to the ministers of the hated state-church, let us doom thousands and tens of thousands of factory children to ignorance and to eternal ruin. Perish their souls! rather than that the church should flourish.'—*Ib.* p. 132.

This sentiment is rightly designated as 'ferocious;' but the ferocity belongs to the man who invented it, in order to bring a false accusation against his neighbours, and not to those in



whose mouths it is put. Has not the Church of England, in days gone by, strenuously opposed schemes for national education, which *abstained* from 'giving the additional influence' to its body, embraced by Sir James Graham's bill? It has. And would this slanderer think it just to accuse the members of the church, in these instances, of 'dooming thousands and tens of thousands of children to ignorance and eternal ruin?' The cases are parallel, as far as his argument is concerned, with this difference against his application of the argument, that the church opposition was purely sectarian in its character, while the opposition of dissenters was directed by a desire for equal liberty only. In the face of these facts, we are warranted in affirming, that the accusation under our notice is not *honestly* preferred, inasmuch as it would be repelled with indignation by its author, if brought to bear upon similar conduct to that which it reprobates, as practised by his friends. In the very number of the 'English Review' containing this slander, it is said:—

'We are not satisfied with any system of national education, which votes a farthing for the direct support of heresy and schism. Nay, we consider such a measure to be diametrically opposed to the first principles of our constitution, in church and state.'—'English Review,' No. xix. p. 228.

This, under the circumstances, is a somewhat startling utterance: but instead of retorting the charge about 'perish their souls,' and so forth, we will give our author the benefit of a defence devised for such characters as he, by a son of his own church:—

'The saints may do the same things by  
The spirit, in sincerity,  
Which other men are tempted to,  
And at the devil's instance do:  
And yet the actions be contrary,  
Just as the saints and wicked vary.'

Hudibras, Part ii. Canto 2.

We come now to notice *the religious principles* which this reviewer attributes to the conductors of the Anti-State-Church Association. He thus enters upon that part of his subject:—

'We look in vain in their principles for anything beyond that of *destruction*: in vain for any elements out of which another, even though it were an erroneous system of religion, might be built up, when they shall have succeeded in levelling the structure of ages with the ground. While the gospel serves as the pretext for their aggression upon the church, they are not themselves agreed what the gospel is; nay, it is evident that any positive form of belief, even if they were prepared to give their assent to it to-day, would not be admitted by them as a per-

manent standard or symbol of truth. The privilege of denying everything, if it shall so please them, of being bound by nothing, is the only tangible idea which runs through all their statements and arguments: this they hold to be the very essence of religion, even that 'liberty wherewith Christ has made us free.'—'English Review,' No. xix. p. 133.

This description is at once true and untrue.

It is true that the object of the Anti-State-Church Association is destruction. That is its professed object. It seeks to destroy the connexion existing between church and state. That it does so, is not its fault, but its glory. It regards this connection as an evil,—a scandalous and dangerous wrong,—and its members are but discharging their duty to society, when they unite together to remove that evil. That the principle on which they unite, is destructive, only tells to the discredit of those who have rendered destructive efforts necessary. Were there nothing which ought to be destroyed, this charge of destructiveness would amount to a just accusation; but as the case stands, the destructiveness is honourable, in proportion to the fidelity with which its measures are adopted and pursued. Does the gentleman who urges this objection, mean to say, that a course of action should be reprobated, merely because it is destructive, whatever be the character of that against which it is directed? If not, he has used the word destruction, in the instance before us, in order to deceive his readers as to the point of accusation he prefers.

But the most important part of his accusation is untrue. He represents the destructiveness which his opponents bring to bear against the state-church system, as characterising the religion they profess. Now this is not the case, and he knows that it is not the case. It is not consistent with fact, that they 'hold the privilege of denying every thing, if it shall so please them, of being bound by nothing, *to be the very essence of religion.*' This investigator may have 'looked in vain,' in attacks upon the establishment theory, 'for any elements out of which another, even though it were an erroneous system of religion, might be built up;' but he must be well aware that this was not the proper place to look for anything of the kind. The advocates of the Anti-State-Church Association carefully abstain from introducing the interest of their own religious views as the ground of their advocacy. This is one of the avowed conditions on which that advocacy is conducted. No one could read their publications without being fully aware of the existence of this condition. The principle of voluntaryism is the only common principle of their society; and it is a misrepresentation of the

essential character of that society to pretend that it is responsible for the construction of any 'system of religion.' Bad, however, as this misrepresentation is, the one which transfers the negative rule observed within the pale of this society, to the religious opinions entertained by the members of the society themselves, is much worse. This latter misrepresentation could not have been made in ignorance. The writers and speakers of the Anti-State-Church Association are, for the most part, well known to possess distinctive religious views, which they do not hesitate to assert on all legitimate occasions. It is very evident to every one who knows anything about the matter, that the destructive efforts they direct against all state interference with religion, have, as to their destructive tendency, nothing to do with the nature of the religion they individually cultivate. A more shameless libel upon them could scarcely be stated, than that they regard such an absurdity as 'the privilege of denying everything,' to comprise 'the very essence of religion.' It may be the case with this writer, that every society to which he thinks proper to unite himself, directly expresses his sectarian belief, but he has no right to make his own illiberality in this respect the standard by which he judges of others.

There are two religious principles which our reviewer detects in the publications examined by him, and with which he is especially offended. The one may be called the *anti-creed* principle, and the other the *anti-infallibility* principle.

The former of these principles is thus expressed in a quotation given in the Review from Mr. Grant's Tract, entitled 'The Church of Christ—What is it?'—

'It is plain that the supreme tribunal to decide this cause, is a man's own private judgment, and that the Bible is to be the statute-book by which this decision is to be regulated. Every one's own conscience is to test all church pretensions by the standard of God's word.'

This principle is shown, by the aid of another extract or two, to result in a 'variety of development' as far as the church is concerned. The 'supreme tribunal does not pronounce the same judgment in all minds, nor, indeed, in the same mind at all times.' Upon this state of things we are treated with the following dictum:—

'Such is the painful vagueness to which men are reduced when walking by the light of their own understandings, they separate the word of God from the living witness to whose keeping he has committed that word, and from those life-giving ordinances by which he has made provision for the nurturing in oneness of faith and spirit, because in oneness of life with himself, those who are willing to seek the grace and



truth of God humbly, reverently, obediently, and by faith, in the way prescribed by God.'—'English Review,' No. xix. p. 134.

So much for the anti-creed principle. The anti-infallibility one may be sufficiently gathered from the following statement, forming part of a quotation taken by the reviewer from a tract by Mr. Morris :—

'It is impossible not to believe that we are in the right ; but it is improper to believe that we cannot but be. Decidedness of belief is perfectly compatible with the stern denial of infallibility ; and we are bound to cherish a constant and candid spirit of enquiry by the very grounds on which we have received, and do hold our actual faith. Whatever tends to check this spirit is a serious evil.'

The important part of the comment made upon this principle is contained in these sentences :—

'Viewing truth as all the professors of such doctrines do, as a production of the human mind, the material of which is taken from the Bible, but the fashion supplied by man himself, nothing, of course, can be more consistent than this perpetual scepticism underlying every conviction, even at the moment when it is most firmly entertained ; nor can anything more clearly demonstrate the total absence of that which alone gives to religious truth, substance, and reality in the mind of man, the effectual operation, the conscious and abiding presence of the Holy Spirit.'—'English Review,' No. xix. p. 136.

We have taken some pains to give, by means of this selection, a fair, though it is necessarily an abridged representation of the collision of sentiment with regard to religion existing between this reviewer and the writers whom he assaults ; and we shall now beg leave to make a remark or two of our own upon the merits of this case of religious opposition.

We have then, in the first place, to say, that if our author's principles were correct, and the principles he controverts were incorrect, this circumstance would be of no importance to the real question with which he has to do. Let it be conceded, for argument sake, that the word of God ought to be taken in connexion with 'a living witness to whose keeping it has been committed,' and that 'to be willing to adopt fresh views of religion, if they possess the necessary proof of being right views,' and thus 'to keep the heart open to every intimation of the Divine will,' is 'to demonstrate the total absence of the effectual operation of the Holy Spirit ;' let this be granted, and yet it does not by any means follow, that 'the living witness' should be patronised by the government, or that 'the operation of the Spirit' should be assisted by legislative authority. Those are the true points in dispute, and they are not touched by this talk in favour of creeds and infallibility. A church when discon-

nected from the state may be constituted with every arbitrariness and arrogance which its members will sanction; and the most exclusive theory of ecclesiastical polity is reconcileable with an adherence to the Anti-State-Church Association. We are told in this paper that 'connexion with the state is by no means essential to the being of the church'—'English Review,' No. xix. p. 129.—and we would add to that sentence, by way of corollary, that no assertion of the religious pretensions of the church will establish a right to connexion with the state.

We observe, in the next place, that the principles laid down by our reviewer, in opposition to his anti-state-church antagonists, cannot be sincerely held in the strictness here claimed for them. There is, in this number of the 'English Review,' an article on a Roman Catholic book, entitled, 'Loss and Gain.' In that article the Church of England is occasionally defended on much the same grounds as those denied to the writers of the Anti-State-Church Tracts, and concessions are made that destroy the force of the sentiments urged against those writers. A few extracts from this article will put the matter under our notice in rather an odd light:—

'Each man must answer for himself to his God, and not another, and scripture expressly charges us to call no man 'father,' in the sense of infallible judge, and absolute lord and master.'—Ib. p. 46.

'The ultimate appeal for each *individual* must be to his conscience, which must be guided by the authority of the church; yet not despotically so.'—Ib. p. 62.

'There is a moral certainty, not an external absolutism in the church's manifestation of Christianity.'—Ib. p. 61.

'We shall be told, the Spirit does conduct into all truth. We reply, into all saving truth; such truth at least as shall suffice for salvation; but not necessarily to dogmatic infallibility; or what becomes of the doctrine of 'invincible ignorance,' which it is admitted may consist with the gifts of the Spirit.'—Ib. p. 49.

We leave these declarations with our readers, as a remarkable example of the manner in which a man may 'condemn himself in that thing which he alloweth.' It is not, indeed, within our knowledge that the article on 'Loss and Gain' was written by the same individual who wrote the article on the British Anti-State-Church Association; but though this may not have been the case, we are perfectly justified in thus bringing the sentiments of the two articles face to face. It is one of the distinctive characteristics of this 'English Review,' that it prides itself upon the unity of sentiment it professes to uphold. It is devoted to the interests of a fixed ecclesiastical theory, whose exclusive truth is continually asserted. Such being the case, a comparison of one part of it with another, by whomsoever its dif-

ferent parts may have been written, is not only fair, but obligatory upon us. The obligation especially applies to questions so important as those on which we are now touching. There is a spirit of compensation relating even to such a matter as editorial responsibility; and thus the inconsistency which would elsewhere call for no remark, is here a proper subject of grave accusation. A claim to superior deference exposes its author to a penalty proportioned to the haughtiness with which it is asserted.

We have, in the third place, to object most seriously to the inferences drawn by this reviewer from the principles on which he animadverts. We do not at all shrink from the adoption of those principles. We believe that 'the best way to secure religious progress and improvement, is to leave religion to the unfettered understandings, wills, and consciences, of men.'—'Tracts for the Million, No. 8.' quoted in the 'English Review'—and we also believe, that possessed as all men are of the elements of fallibility, and surrounded as all men are with influences favourable to error, it is a mark of humility, as well as of honesty, while we are faithful to our present convictions, to be ready to receive others.'—'Religious Bearings of the Anti-State-Church Question,' p. 12, quoted in the 'English Review.' On the other hand we admit with the reviewer, the necessity of 'the effectual operation, the conscious and abiding presence of the Holy Spirit,' in order to 'give to religious truth substance and reality in the mind of man;' though we reject the authority of any ecclesiastical corporation, as 'a living witness to whose keeping God has committed his word.' In our agreement with him, as well as in our disagreement, we have the concurrence of the writers of the Anti-State-Church Tracts, as the tracts themselves will show. Now we think it is quite unwarrantable to deduce from such premises as these the following conclusion:—'Viewing truth as all the professors of such doctrines do, as a production of the human mind, the material of which is taken from the Bible, but the fashion supplied by man himself, nothing of course can be more consistent than the perpetual scepticism underlying every conviction, even at the moment when it is most firmly entertained.'

This sentence is, in both parts of it, untrue.

Scepticism and free inquiry are very different things, and none but a person enclosed within the walls of a mere authoritative system would think of confounding them with each other. Not only is it the case, that a firm persuasion of truth may consist with a constant habit of investigation into the subject of that truth; but the investigation strengthens the persuasion, as far as it is a legitimate one. It is the nature of



truth to gather support from every fresh examination to which it is exposed; and instead of 'scepticism underlying' the convictions which are adopted in connexion with a determination to 'prove all things,' all that is 'good' in those convictions must be 'held' the faster by reason of such proof. About this charge of scepticism we need not, indeed, have said more than that one of the paragraphs on which it is grounded, pleads for 'decidedness of belief as compatible with the liberty for which it contends;' and that in another page of this 'English Review' we are told, that though 'it might be convenient to the slothful, were no ground afforded for the exercise of conscience or of reason, God has willed rather to allow of the possibility of evil through the medium of liberty, than to create a world in which knowledge and bliss should be perfect and universal.'—'English Review,' No. xix. p. 72.

Equally inapplicable is the assertion, that the professors of such doctrines as these, of the right and duty of private judgment, 'view truth as the production of the human mind, the material of which is taken from the Bible, but the fashion supplied by man himself.' The Bible is with them, as we have seen, 'the statute-book by which their decision' as to truth 'is to be regulated;' 'the standard' by which all 'church pretensions are to be tested.' It presents to 'the human mind,' according to them, 'the fashion,' as well as 'the material,' of truth, and it is the *application only* of that truth, which, in their estimation, should be 'supplied by the man himself.' This is their theory of the matter, and it is not in any sense liable to the imputation here cast upon it. That imputation does, however, belong to the theory advocated by our reviewer. A system of churchism based upon creeds and forms of human device, which, though professing to rest for support upon the scriptures, insists upon other terms of subscription than those which the scriptures themselves afford, could hardly be more accurately described, than as '*taking the materials of its truth from the Bible, but suffering the fashion of that truth to be supplied by man himself.*' Nor is this our opinion only. It is an opinion advanced in the very publication in which the imputation we are examining is contained. Thus speaks this 'English Review' of the Articles of the Church of England:—'The Christian faith is enshrined in the Holy Scriptures, but its expression and its form are capable of indefinite variety, consistently with the preservation of the substance of revealed truth.'—'English Review,' No. xix. p. 34.

'*Hamlet.*—Do you see yonder cloud that's almost in shape of a camel?

'*Polonius*.—By the mass, and 'tis like a camel indeed.

'*Ham*.—Methinks it is like a weasel.

'*Pol*.—It is backed like a weasel.

'*Ham*.—Or like a whale?

'*Pol*.—Very like a whale.'

Before we dismiss this part of our subject, we have a word or two to say upon the relation really sustained toward faith in religion and Christianity, by the spiritual freedom which has occupied our attention. Such freedom we believe to be not only reconcilable with, but absolutely essential to faith. Wherever faith exists, freedom must exist in the same degree, and as far as freedom is repressed, the necessary conditions of faith are destroyed. It is a misnomer to call mere reliance upon authority, faith; for, though reliance itself is one of the results of faith, it is an exercise of intelligence as distinguished from submission to authority, which gives to it that character. Intelligence cannot be exercised apart from freedom. It ceases to be intelligence when it ceases to partake of the nature of personal choice. Just in proportion, then, to the interference suffered with regard to the principles on which this choice proceeds, is the injury done to the faith professed. In that proportion it loses the vital quality of faith. Instead, therefore, of conceding to our author the boastful sentiments in which he indulges about the reality, and life, and substance of the faith which his system promotes—instead of regarding that system as favourable to the discovery of anything like 'absolute and unfailing truth.'—'English Review,' No. xix, p. 135; we are prepared to contend, that what characterises the system is subversive of faith, and that it is only by partaking of the virtue of the opposite system, that faith is possible to it at all. One of the greatest evils attaching to the Church of England, has been the influence adverse to faith, which it has exerted. That influence has not only been extensively operative upon those without the pale of this church, but it has been scarcely less powerful upon those within that pale. It has substituted for faith that which has only the outward semblance of this principle, and that semblance is none the less destitute of the reality it endeavours to imitate, because the imitation involves an exaggerated display of the submission to which faith naturally leads. Every blessing is connected with responsibilities which expose to danger, and thus the free conditions on which faith must be obtained, require to be carefully guarded from abuses to which they are liable; but to repudiate such conditions is to forfeit the good, which cannot be secured but by their means. It is in this direction that the doctrines point, which we have been endeavouring to confute; and we would recommend to the advocates

of such doctrines the following judgment, passed upon the Roman Catholic portion of them, in this self-same 'English Review;' 'In reality, these complainers would know truth as truth, without the slightest effort, without the least responsibility. Christianity must be written for them in the stars, or they cannot believe it. They will not 'walk by *faith*.'—'English Review,' No. xix. p. 71.

The observations we have just made are intimately connected with correct views of what is called *the voluntary principle*. That principle does not embrace one of the modes of religious action which we are at liberty to put aside, in favour of another mode of that action. It embraces the only mode of religious action recognised by Christianity; nay, it supplies the only mode of action which can with any propriety be called religious. To compare it with any other principle in this application, is sheer folly. There is no other principle which the subject does or can admit. This includes all the religion of the case with which it has to do; and whatsoever arises from any other principle, is essentially destitute of the religious element. If this fails, there is nothing else to succeed. But it cannot fail. To talk of its failure is an abuse of words. In its form of principle it comprehends every agency possible to the subject. The compulsory principle is limited by the external force which can be brought to bear upon men; but the voluntary principle engages on its side all the power of those whom it influences. There is no limit to its influence, but the limit of human ability. This is its character, *as a principle*, and whenever we hear it spoken against as such, we feel convinced that the speaker is ignorant of that whereof he affirms. He might, with just as much consistency, speak against the *interest* itself which he connects with voluntarism, for the whole of the available resources bearing upon that interest, are covered by this principle. It is true that the principle is, in the present state of things, very often partially and unfaithfully acted upon. It does not, therefore, produce the fruit which it is capable of producing. But to say this, is to say nothing against the principle itself. If that be preserved in its integrity, we should but rejoice the more that the short-comings of its professed friends were severely dealt with. Toward those short-comings we do not bear the least favour; but we demand that they be not put down to the voluntary principle, but to the weakness of those by whom that principle is administered. If this simple justice were done, the argument of our opponents, as far as it had to do with principle at all, would cease to exist.

There is an attempt made, toward the close of the paper on which we are commenting, to defend the Church of England



against the attacks to which its anti-voluntary character exposes it. The defence consists of three statements—that state-endowment does not exclude the principle of voluntary support—that those who oppose this mode of endowment, act inconsistently when they attempt to secure toward their objects ‘steady and unfailing funds’—and that voluntaryism does not sufficiently prosper in the hands of its most zealous adherents.

The second of these statements we put on one side, as pure nonsense. If our reviewer is really ‘at a loss to understand the difference between an endowment and the securing of a steady and unfailing fund.’—‘English Review,’ No. xix p. 162; we cannot further instruct his simplicity than by saying, that such a fund may be raised without the aid of any endowment, and that ‘steady and unfailing,’ is a phrase expressive of the moral calculation applicable to the subject, not of the amount of money lodged in legal securities. This part of the case, however, we willingly pass by, as almost beneath notice.

As to the first and third of the statements to which we have just alluded, they may be taken together, and thus replied to. If the voluntary principle is not carried out by the persons who adopt it, to the extent to which they ought to carry it out, its operation among them is nevertheless more extensive and beneficial than that of any other principle would be; and if state support does not altogether preclude the working of that principle, it so far impedes it as to present the lowest and weakest manifestations of its power. We deny, in the most emphatic terms, the assertion here made, that ‘if returns could be obtained of the voluntary contributions of churchmen toward the support of the clergy of the establishment, the amount of them would be found quite equal to, if not considerably exceeding, the contributions levied upon the voluntary principle, among all the dissenting sects put together.’—‘English Review,’ No. xix. p. 160. This is notoriously opposed to facts, and was, we believe, merely said at random, to serve the purpose of the moment. The truth of the matter is, that with all its defects of application, voluntaryism has vindicated, and continues more and more to vindicate, in this country, its title to be the one great means of religious action, which answers at once to the Christian and the philosophical requirements of the subject; and that the condition of the Church of England supports that vindication, by its inability to fulfil the religious purposes which its numbers and its power offer to its hand. Fettered as it is by its political alliance, the great body of its people are an inert mass, as far as religion is concerned, and the efforts here and there made by some of its members are convulsive struggles against the pres-

sure of its chains, rather than indications of the healthy and universal vigour which freedom would call forth.

The *political opinions* expressed by this English Reviewer are, if anything, more objectionable than even his religious ones. Their expression is occasioned by some sentiments published by Mr. Miall, in a tract entitled, 'Religious Establishments incompatible with the Rights of Citizenship.' Those sentiments relate to the duty toward God, in consistency with which a citizen ought to exercise the political power assigned to him. It will be unnecessary for us to quote the paragraph containing them; inasmuch as not only its general import, but its most distinctive phrases, may be easily gathered from the adverse remarks upon it, which we proceed to give:—

'Mr. Miall admits, that there is such a thing as 'the powers that be,' an authority which is held from God.' And how does he conceive that this authority should be exercised? In the utmost plenitude of its power, is the answer. He who is invested with that authority 'held from God,' must not 'commit suicide upon it.' If he fails to wield it to the full, for the repression of all that would oppose its salutary and consecrated action, he is reminded that he 'throws into the treasury of unrighteousness the whole amount of power which he surrenders.' What, again, is, according to Mr. Miall, included within the legitimate scope of the exercise of that authority? Is it to be a merely temporal authority, confining itself to the supervision of the material interests of the state, the nation; or is it to extend its care to the furtherance of true religion? is it to concern itself about the spiritual welfare of its subjects, about the salvation of their souls? Most assuredly it is to do the latter, and that under the most solemn responsibility to Him from whom the authority is derived, and who will call upon those whom he has entrusted with it, to 'give up an account of their stewardship.' 'If there be,' quoth Mr. Miall, 'anything religiously offensive, anything displeasing to our Lord and Master, anything subversive of Christian purity, peace, or power,' the 'trustee of political sovereignty,' holding his office 'from God,' is, by his position, and by his studied neglect of the duties of it, an open party to its continuance.' Mr. Miall has a word of kind, and withal stringent admonition for 'trustees of political sovereignty,' if they should chance to be remiss in removing whatever is 'religiously offensive, displeasing to our Lord and Master, subversive of Christian purity, peace, or power.' He thus apostrophises such unfaithful stewards: 'God has introduced you into one of the highest relationships of temporal life, and you tell him that you will attend to none of the obligations of your trust. He has made you rulers, and you leave the people to perish through your indifference.'—'English Review,' No. xix. p. 137.

Now, we confess our amazement at the degree of assurance possessed by the man who could forge this misrepresentation of the views of his opponent, lying as those views did, at the time, plainly before him. The main point of the description we have

quoted, is an impudent misrepresentation. Mr. Miall does *not* hold that government is to 'extend its care to the furtherance of true religion; is to concern itself about the spiritual welfare of its subjects, about the salvation of their souls.' He holds the opposite of this. His tract was written to establish the opposite. It bears this intention upon every part of it. The sentence about what is 'religiously offensive, displeasing to our Lord and Master, and subversive of Christian purity, peace or power,' is expressly directed *against* a state 'extending its care to the furtherance of true religion.' The thing particularly mentioned as 'religiously offensive,' is 'an established church.' The slightest doubt could not have been entertained as to Mr. Miall's real meaning, for he had taken the pains, in connexion with the paragraph copied by the reviewer, to protect his language from the abuse which is here committed with regard to it.

'Let us guard ourselves,' says he, 'against misrepresentation. The boundaries of citizenship in every country are marked out by human wisdom or by human folly: and *all that we would be understood as affirming* is, that the boundaries having been prescribed and settled, in any given case, each one who is placed within those boundaries, is placed there by providential dispensation.'—'Religious Establishments incompatible with the Rights of Citizenship,' p. 9.

Here, then, is an instance of the most shameless perversion. It is a desperate cause that requires a resort to such desperate means, and it will be seen, as we proceed with our extract, that the palpable fiction we have exposed, is the only ground on which the subsequent argument in favour of political injustice is built. Take that fiction away, and the whole superstructure falls. The argument is as mendacious in its premises, as it is tyrannical in its conclusion. It is thus stated:—

'The point to which we would request the attention of Mr. Miall, and of those who share his opinions, is the bearing of his arguments upon the hypothesis, after all not a very preposterous one, that there is such a thing as a kingly power, of divine institution. Let it be supposed, that by 'the powers that be,' we are to understand, not the sovereign people, of whose divine authority we are not aware that mention is made anywhere in Holy Writ—we will thank Mr. Miall to set us right if we are wrong,—but those whom Holy Scripture points out by name: 'kings, and all that are in authority;' let it be supposed, moreover, that these 'kings,' 'ordained of God,' being diligent in reading their Bibles, have found therein certain passages in which false teachers are spoken of with reprobation, as those 'whose word eateth as doth a canker,' in which those who 'separate themselves' are denounced as 'sensual, having not the Spirit;' in which it is declared, that 'the mouths of unruly and vain talkers, and deceivers, must be stopped;' in which, among the evils that shall befall the church in 'the last days,' is mentioned the fact, that



'they will not endure sound doctrine; but after their own lusts, shall heap to themselves teachers having itching ears, and shall turn away their ears from the truth, and shall be turned unto fables,'—the fable of 'Voluntaryism,' Anglicé 'Willinghood,' as one of the Tracts for the Million has it, for example:—suppose the 'kings,' who, 'holding their office from God,' are 'trustees of political sovereignty,' feel it their duty to put a stop to the babbling of these self-constituted teachers, who tickle the itching ears of fickle hearers, or take advantage of the ignorance of the multitude, for bringing a mass of 'railing accusation,' such as the tracts of the British Anti-State-Church Association contain in rich abundance, against the church divinely ordained by Christ and his apostles, and established in the land for the instruction and guidance of the people; suppose they are sensible of the full weight of responsibility which rests upon them, if they suffer 'anything religiously offensive, displeasing to our Lord and Master, subversive of Christian purity, peace, or power,' to continue in the land,—what, in that supposition, would become of Mr. Miall, the executive committee, the council, the conference, together with all the delegates and members of the British Anti-State-Church Association? Would they not be proclaimed an offence and a nuisance, and forcibly put down, on the principle, that, unless this were done, 'the whole amount of power surrendered by the trustee of political sovereignty would be thrown into the Anti-State-Church treasury of unrighteousness? With what face, upon his own showing, could Mr. Miall stand up, and complain of persecution? Upon what ground could he find fault with the state support of the church, seeing that he himself declares it to be a cause of present rebuke and future judgment, for those whom 'God has made rulers,' to 'leave the people to perish through their indifference.' We want no more stringent argument in support of a state church,—a state church rigorously opposed to dissent and nonconformity of every kind—than the principles laid down by Mr. Miall himself, on behalf of the Anti-State-Church scheme, backed up by the usurpation of the democracy over 'the powers that be,' 'kings,' and others that 'are in authority.' Mr. Miall's principles would warrant the suppression of dissent and nonconformity,—which the church does not call for:—the exclusion of separatists from offices of trust and power would be a matter of course, being, in truth, a means of self-defence, which a state, directed by wise counsels, would never neglect or relinquish, under a mistaken idea of the nature of toleration, and in forgetfulness of the bounds by which toleration is separated from admission to power.'—English Review, No. xix. p. 138.

This foolish parallel is just as if a pickpocket should say to an honest tradesman, you and I are both engaged in getting money. The point of comparison would lie in that case between a similarity of pursuits, as it lies in this between a similarity of religious professions; and the point of difference in the two cases is exactly the same, viz., a total opposition as to the moral principles, in consistency with which the conduct is shaped.

It is quite true, that kings, as well as subjects, are placed under religious responsibilities with regard to the exercise of the political power entrusted to them. The responsibilities of the one party may, therefore, be fitly illustrated by those of the other. But who, in his senses, would think of comparing them together, without first ascertaining the purposes and means with which political power ought to concern itself? Those purposes and means prescribe the limits within which the responsibility of both kings and subjects should be confined; and to take no notice of such limits, is to make anything or nothing of the subject, as fancy or passion may dictate. It is here said, for instance, that the parallel relied upon would 'warrant the suppression of dissent and nonconformity, which the church does not call for;' and we may add, that there is no extent of abomination which it would not warrant. It would, as it is conducted, warrant the hanging or burning of every dissenter in the land. It is perfectly worthless for any purpose of argument, inasmuch as it proves a great deal too much. It is confessed to prove a great deal more than its author thinks to be right, and it really embraces modes of procedure which he would not dare to hint at.

A very obvious limit to the religious responsibility with which the administration of civil government has to do, is, that it should preserve a perfect equality of treatment between the different religious parties in a state. The state is constituted for the equal benefit of all its subjects; and, as another man's religion stands in the same relation to him as ours does to us, the interest of every one in connexion with this subject should be regarded, as identified with the opinions which he himself holds. In dealing with our own religious interests we have to follow the personal convictions of our own conscience in the matter; but in dealing with the religious interests of others, we have to respect their conscientious convictions, just as we desire ours to be respected. This is surely right and Christian. We can quote for it the universal command—'All things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them.' We can confirm our particular application of this command by the apostolic rule of judgment—'Conscience, I say, not thine own, but of the other; for why is my liberty judged of another man's conscience?' Need we say with what an unconsciousness of Christian duty on the subject, this plain principle of justice is violated in the paragraph of the review on which we are now remarking. 'The church, divinely ordained by Christ and his apostles, and established in the land for the instruction and guidance of the people,' is, according to that paragraph, the sole religious interest with

which the government should concern itself; and it describes the 'exclusion of separatists from offices of trust and power,' as 'a means of self-defence, which a state, directed by wise counsels, would never neglect or relinquish, under a mistaken idea of the nature of toleration, and in forgetfulness of the bounds by which toleration is separated from admission to power.' This is, verily and indeed, to 'trust in lying words, saying, The temple of the Lord, the temple of the Lord, the temple of the Lord are these.'

There is another limit to the religious responsibility belonging to the conductors of civil government, which we cannot but notice as applicable to the extract before us. That responsibility should be fulfilled, not only in consistency with the equal religious rights possessed by all the subjects of the realm, but also in consistency with the particular class of duties which the nature of government prescribes. That which it may be the duty of a man to perform in one relation of life, may cease to be his duty in a different relation; and it is very easy to find in the Bible, warnings and reprobations which, as to the manner of their execution, do not come within the range of human duty at all. The duty of a state is confined to the promotion, by the outward force of law, of those secular interests with reference to which alone a state is constituted. Now, it would appear, that no definition of the duty of the civil power has dawned upon the mind of this reviewer. He has brought forward a number of scraps of passages of scripture, some of which have only to do with the Divine government, while others relate to departments of human conduct quite separate from that which is appropriate to the civil magistrate. These he has strung together, without the slightest reference to the principles of obligation with which they are, or are not, connected in their original use. Some of these fragments, for example, are taken out of the Epistle of Jude. What has the Epistle of Jude to do with 'trustees of political sovereignty?' Nothing at all. And the same may be said of every other portion of this patchwork. It is altogether destitute of any real bearing upon the question in hand. Any degree of absurdity, or wickedness, may be supported by the scriptures, if it be allowable to employ them after this fashion; and the man who does so employ them, quoting their sacred words in false senses and applications, just to suit the intentions of his sectarian bigotry, as though the word of God were a mere collection of slang given to him, that by its means he might add point and force to the expressions of an impotent malice, dishonours and wrongs the cause of revelation as much as he sins against the claims of humanity. We should have thought, it might have occurred



to the mind of any one who arrogated to a church, or a state, the power of taking vengeance upon the ungodly, whom the spirit of prophecy declares shall appear in 'the last days,' that the same spirit describes, as one of the characteristics of those days, that in them 'the man of sin shall be revealed, the son of perdition, who opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called God, or that is worshipped; so that he, as God, sitteth in the temple of God, *shewing himself that he is God.*'

These then are the political principles which it is thought necessary to array in defence of the position occupied by the Church of England—that the government has a right to exclude from offices of trust and power all separatists from the one form of religion which it chooses to patronize; and that its authority in this direction, may be stretched to an assumption of the supreme dominion in religious matters which the Bible attributes to the almighty Ruler himself. There could not be a stronger testimony to the truth of the principles advocated by the British Anti-State-Church Association, than is afforded by the fact that they are obliged to be met by such rabid insolence of assertion as we are thus presented with. Lest our readers should think we have spoken too severely on this part of our subject, we will lay before them a gem of a sentence which the reviewer has, with special commendation, transferred to his pages from those of Mr. Robert Montgomery:—

'If the state really desires to do her duty towards God and Christ, towards the nation, nay, towards the dissenters themselves, she must no longer assume a wavering position, halt, hesitate, tamper with conscience, trifle with principle, and crawl for ever in the venality and vileness of a pitiful expediency, but at once stand forth in the high majesty and holy rectitude of a Christian constitution, and say to sectarianism, 'We tolerate your existence as a necessary evil and social nuisance not to be avoided; but an external, positive, and divine organization like the national church in this country, is that religious communion which reason, revelation, conscience, and common honesty, demand, we should sustain and encourage.'—Ib. p. 166.

We commend to the author of this sentence the following confession of the original Parolles:—

'Who knows himself a braggart,  
Let him fear this; for it will come to pass  
That every braggart shall be found an ass.'

The large space we have occupied obliges us to touch very briefly upon the remainder of the paper we are examining. This, however, we do not regret, for what yet lies before us is of far inferior importance to that over which we have passed. It mainly relates to two points—the means employed, and the results accomplished by the Anti-State-Church Association.

It is quite unnecessary that we should set up any defence for *the means* which the Association has employed. They will for the most part commend themselves to the good sense of mankind, even as they are described by their enemies. We do not pledge ourselves to the perfect taste of every statement and expression contained in the Anti-State-Church publications; but we submit; that—to rouse dissenters to political action against the ecclesiastical establishments of the country—to insist largely upon the desecrating influence of state support, as manifested in the character and administration of the Church of England—and to inform the public mind by cheap tracts, and popular lectures—are most legitimate methods of conducting the moral warfare in which the promoters of this movement are engaged. It is easy to sneer at these things. It is easier still to assume a pious indignation at their success. Charges of vulgarity may be apparently supported, by reference to those ludicrous images which the anomalous position of a secularized Christianity cannot fail to call up in the minds of those who see it as it really is. But contempt, and passion, and affected gentility, will not in this instance lessen the merit of the cause against which they are directed. It is a cause too strong in its justice to be shaken by such small shot. There is, moreover, a manifest want of keeping in the tenderness with regard to the use of hard words affected by a person, one of whose most familiar weapons is the accusation of ‘blasphemy,’ and who sums up the operations of his opponents as ‘four years speaking, canting, railing, and lying.’

In this part of the review we meet with a very notable instance of the insincerity we have had such frequent occasion to point out. An extract is given from a tract on ‘The Duties of Sunday School Teachers in relation to State Churches,’ to the effect that ‘they should teach dissent dogmatically, or on their own word.’ We do not altogether approve of the sentiments contained in that extract, though we think it quite unfair to present it, as is here done, alone, when it is immediately followed by a corrective paragraph, with the heading, ‘*You must teach dissent logically, or by reasoning.*’ Passing this by, however, the extract quoted is censured in these words:—

‘If Mephistopheles himself had been consulted as to the best way of undermining the church, he could scarcely have given better advice than this, to take advantage of the unsuspecting confidence of the young and uninformed, and to instill into their minds the *acetum* of ‘dissenting truth,’ in reliance on the moral axiom, that this being once effectually accomplished, ‘*Quodcunque infundis, acescit.*’—‘English Review,’ No. xix. p. 143.

Now it is satisfactory to know, that instead of Mephisto-

pheles having been consulted, this advice in spite of his 'swellings and his turkey-cockings,' may be traced to the veritable Pistol with whom we are now endeavouring to deal. Thus speaks the 'English Review' itself.

'It is assumed as the Anglican rule, that protestants of the church of England should and do *begin* with *inquiry*. Artfully put as this is, young men may thoughtlessly presume it to be true; but could the author of this book have failed to know, that protestants of the church of England *begin* with *faith*, as much as Roman catholics; that they are taught this implicit faith in childhood; that it is the first lesson conveyed to them; that the Anglican church gives her entire doctrinal teaching as so many positive facts, not as problematical possibilities?'—'English Review,' No. xix. p. 57.

The '*Quodcunque infundis, acescit*,' ought not in this instance, surely, to have been disjoined from the '*SINCERUM est nisi vas*.'

In estimating *the results* accomplished by the Anti-State-Church Association, a singular parade of statistical calculations is exhibited. A business-like air is thus given to statements which are in themselves perfectly deceptive. We can assure our readers, for example, that the account contained in this 'Review' of the number of members really belonging to the Association, and the amount of money expended in its interest, is altogether incorrect. Various elements bearing upon both these points are left out of the calculation. We happen to be writing this part of our article in a town where a large and well-organised body exists, which is actually working in the closest co-operation with the Anti-State-Church Association, but whose numbers and the amount of whose funds do not appear in any of the reports the Association has published. This and similar circumstances were not, perhaps, within the knowledge of the writer in the 'English Review;' but enough must have been known to him to produce the conviction in his mind, that the inferences he has pretended to draw from the facts open to his investigation, are fallacious. We are not anxious, however, to set this portion of the case in its true form, for we attach but little importance to it. In our opinion, the Association has not received from the dissenting public that degree of active support to which, in consistency with the principles of dissent, it is entitled; but it is gradually extending its influence among all classes of dissenters, and gives continually increasing promise of attaining to the station it ought to occupy. The progress it is making, is, with us, a matter of unfeigned rejoicing. The appearance of this notice in the 'English Review,' is one of the signs of that progress. The author of the notice cannot but be aware, that three years ago he could have concocted a state-



ment of its condition much less favourable to its prosperity, than he can now venture upon; and he cannot but fear, that three years hence, he will have to admit the fact of a very large addition to the figures he has thought proper to put down. With this state of affairs we are well content. 'The little one has become a thousand,' and we are confident that it will still go on until it grow into 'a great nation.'

One of the statistical tables with which we are furnished, is of so strange a character, that we feel bound to take particular notice of it. It professes to set, in different columns,—the number of souls to one clergyman in each diocese of the kingdom—the number of Anti-State-Church districts, and of delegates to the Anti-State-Church conference, in these dioceses—the number of souls to one clergyman in the Anti-State-Church districts—and the provision made for the clergy in these respective divisions of the country. The object of this table is to prove, that where the church is in what is called the most efficient operation, the Anti-State-Church Association has been least successful. This, we are told, could not have been the case, if the church were really the source of the frightful evils depicted in the Association tracts. Now all this is a piece of pure humbug. It is so utterly and ridiculously beside the mark, that we are persuaded it was devised under a consciousness of its true character. It could prove nothing, and it was never meant to prove anything. It is neither more nor less than a solemn farce, played off upon the credulity of the 'sincere and devoted,' whom it is meant to dupe. We have not taken the trouble to examine whether the figures inserted answer at all to the facts they are brought forward to represent. This would be quite a work of supererogation. The very construction of the table is a cheat. We might point this out in various ways, but we shall confine ourselves to one illustration of it. In reckoning the number of souls to each clergyman in these dioceses and districts, no account at all is taken of dissenters as forming any part of them. This is a serious and, under the circumstances, a suspicious omission. It vitiates the whole story. The visits of the Anti-State-Church agents to any district, will naturally depend much more upon the number and activity of the dissenters in that district, than upon any particular state of the Church of England there. The number of souls to each clergyman in a district is, moreover, most materially affected by the amount of dissent which the district contains. When dissenters are deducted from the gross sum of the population, the remainder may present the very opposite result, as to church efficiency, to that which this table exhibits. What are here described as inefficient districts, may thus be

found, after all, to be labouring under a peculiarly uncomfortable burden of churchism. This we know to be actually the case in some of the instances cited. The specimen we have just given is, we repeat, but one of many proofs which could be given of the entire folly of this calculation. It can only be paralleled in the records of fiction. The nearest parallel to it with which we are acquainted, is Dickens's account of the ingenious communication made by Mr. Ledbrain to the statistical section of The Mud-Fog Association—in which the number of legs belonging to the manufacturing population of a great town in Yorkshire, was compared with the number of chair and stool-legs in their houses, and the conclusion was arrived at, 'that, not taking wooden or cork legs into the account, but allowing two legs to every person, ten thousand individuals were either destitute of any rest for their legs at all, or passed the whole of their leisure time in sitting upon boxes.' The rich absurdity of this, wants, however, the gravity of the 'English Review' to render it still richer.

It was to have been expected that our reviewer could not abstain from using the weapon which the *Regium Donum* put into his hands. Accordingly, we are told of 'starving dissenting preachers clinging naturally enough to this pittance.' We do not complain of this reference, but, on the contrary, rejoice at it. We hope that such just expressions of contempt will have the effect of removing this scandal from dissent, and perhaps we cannot better conclude our present observations than by offering a word or two of our own, toward that removal.

The late exposure which has taken place on this subject, ought, we think, to rouse the general public in opposition to the *Regium Donum*, for that grant has been proved to bear upon it almost every objectionable mark which can attach to a grant of public money. It answers no end to which it can be applied, except the end of a little government patronage; and it is connected with no responsibility by which any abuse of it can be prevented. It is to be classed with those disgraceful jobs which exist only for the purpose of extending the influence of the State. It is, perhaps, the very worst of those jobs, inasmuch as it involves a determination to fix the brand of slavery, by means of a few of their associates, upon men who have cast off the slavery itself. To such men the government says, in effect, 'You may be free, but as long as we can forge a pretext for doing so, we will deprive you of full credit for the freedom of which you boast.'

But, though the public has to do with this case in the form we have just stated, the grossest part of that case applies to

dissenters themselves, rather than to the community generally. Dissenters have not only to do with the principles on which the government acts in this matter, but they have to do with the men who make themselves the tools of the State, to the disadvantage of dissent. They are dissenting ministers who, in this instance, profess to represent dissent; and we have to tell them plainly, that they do not possess the character to which they lay claim. They do not represent dissent in any form or degree. It may be a subject of debate between them and us, whether their opinions or ours are most accordant with the true principles of nonconformity; but it is and can be no subject of debate, whether or not they were ever chosen to the office they sustain. They never were so chosen. They cannot produce any credentials from the denominations in whose name they presume to act. They are self-elected. They have agreed to call one another representatives, and that is their sole qualification for the character. Surely we are justified in appealing to the honour of these gentlemen, against their compromising the views and wishes of their brethren, by taking this authority, and distributing this money in other than their own names. Surely they are bound either to give up the character they have assumed, or to come before the dissenting world, in order that that character may be legitimately conferred upon them. We ask them to try the question we have just mooted. We ask them to appeal to the constituencies whom they profess to represent. We ask them to seek from the different bodies in whose name they act, for powers by which they may be constituted the almoners of the government for the benefit of the poor ministers belonging to these bodies. This is among the fairest and most reasonable of demands; and while they abstain from thus placing themselves in the only relation to the point in hand which can establish the truth of their own assertions, they may sophisticate as much as they please, but all they say in their own defence will be regarded as idle wind.

We make this appeal to them under the conviction, that higher interests are involved in their conduct than those which relate to the political principles we hold. This *Regium Donum* becomes, in the case of many a poor man, the instrument of adding to his poverty the shame of a wounded conscience. It forms a temptation to him to do what he considers to be wrong. Having yielded to the temptation, the victim endeavours carefully to conceal his weakness from all whose opinion he respects; and the effort at concealment increases his sense of degradation. These things ought not so to be; and we put it seriously and earnestly to the gentlemen who aid the government in distributing this money, if it is just and Christian on their part, to



cast this temptation in the way of their brethren, or to risk the possibility of thus planting thorns in the breasts of those whom poverty has placed within their power, and lowering the moral character of the order to which they themselves belong.

Their own characters cannot escape from the corrupting influence of the false position they have condescended to occupy. Who can doubt that it is the intention of the government, in granting this money, to weaken and pervert the dissent of this self-constituted commission of London ministers, and make them instruments in supporting the church from which they are separated. That intention is fulfilled. It cannot but be fulfilled. It is impossible for them to resist the influence which is thus exerted. We are convinced, that if they had not stood in the relation to the government in which they do stand, what has lately been published in the names of some of them, never would have appeared. In any other connexion, they would have been ashamed of the kind of arguments they have used. They could not have written and said what they have done, on the voluntary principle. Their respect for logic as well as liberty, would have rebelled against the attempt. It is pitiful to see them thus damaging their characters,—their intellectual characters, in deference to the subordinate situations they occupy toward the minister of the day; and we entreat them, in all kindness, for their own sakes, to ‘come out, and be separate, and touch not the unclean thing.’

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### Brief Notices.

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*Mosheim's Institutes of Ecclesiastical History, Ancient and Modern. A new and literal Translation from the Original Latin, with copious Additional Notes, Original and Selected, by James Murdock, D.D. Revised, and Supplementary Notes added, by James Seaton Reid, D.D. 8vo. pp. 904. London: Simms and M'Intyre.*

A NEW translation of Mosheim's Institutes, has long been called for. Dr. Maclaine's version was known to be defective in many important respects. His own confession was sufficient to prove the little reliance that could be placed on it. ‘I have sometimes,’ he says in his preface, ‘taken considerable liberties with my author, and followed the spirit of his narrative without adhering strictly to the letter; and have often added a few sentences to render an observation more striking, a fact more clear, a portrait more finished.’ Whoever will

be at the pains of comparing this translation with the original, will see, as Dr. Murdock remarks, 'that he has essentially changed the style, and greatly coloured and altered in many places the sentiments of the author.' The work is thus rendered heavy and tedious, and in many places 'obscure and indefinite.' Its credibility as a history is also impaired, and opinions have been foisted on the author, for which the translator alone was responsible.

Such being the case, we are thankful to Dr. Reid for having declined the proposal of Messrs. Simms and M'Intyre, to edit a cheap edition of Maclaine's version. He wisely directed their attention to Dr. Murdock's excellent translation, which had recently appeared in the United States, and they prudently adopted his suggestion. The result is the volume before us, which we have great pleasure in introducing to our readers. It is a real addition to the theological literature of the day, and must consign our six volumes to immediate and absolute neglect. We hope our publishers stock of Maclaine's edition is small, for no ecclesiastical student who has any regard to the accuracy of his scholarship, will henceforth give it a place in his library. Dr. Reid has followed the first American edition, so far as the fourth century, and that of 1845 in the subsequent periods of the history. 'I have ventured,' he says, 'to revise the translation in various places, either to bring it closer to the original text, or to correct a few inaccuracies of style.' Some lengthy documents elsewhere accessible, and some details of minor interest, have been omitted, in order to the work being comprised within the compass of a single volume. The translation itself is close and literal, 'containing neither more nor less than the original, and presenting the exact thoughts of the author in the same direct, artless, and lucid, manner. \* \* \* The translator, it is added, 'has aimed to give Mosheim, as far as he was able, the same port and mien in English as he has in Latin.' This is as it should be, and we rejoice that a work long needed, has been at length so faithfully executed.

The American translator, and his English editor, have added a large body of valuable notes, which are carefully distinguished, and an extended index is supplied. We thank Dr. Reid, and the publishers, for the service they have rendered, and congratulate the theological students of our country, and all who are interested in the researches of church history, on the justice at length done to the invaluable *Institutes* of Mosheim. The cheapness of this edition places it within the reach of all, and we need not say that it should have an immediate place in every theological library.

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*Fisher's Drawing Room Scrap Book*, 1849. By the Hon. Mrs. Norton. London: Peter Jackson.

THE 'Drawing Room Scrap Book' makes its appearance this year in its usual holiday garb, reminding us that the season of family and social festivity is at hand. It wears a somewhat solitary character, being unaccompanied by its numerous former gay associates, who have ceased

to prefer their claim to public favour and support. We do not regret the disappearance of the class. They were very beautiful, but nothing more, and for a time took the place of other and more instructive works. We love the *dulce* when mingled with the *utile*, but soon tire of the former alone. Their union is pleasing, but such a wholesale attempt to dissociate them as we have recently seen, is open to very serious objections. We introduce, however, this highly ornamented volume to our readers with pleasure, in the confident expectation that it will afford amusement and gratify taste now that 'the singing of birds is gone.' Though the age for these toy-books has passed, the volume under our eye is as attractive, as splendidly bound, as elaborately illustrated, and its typography is as beautiful as any of its predecessors. Mrs. Norton, who appears again as the editor, has among her contributors, the Hon. Edmund Phipps, Lord Viscount Melbourne, R. Monckton Milnes, Mrs. Coningham, and Charles Swain. We look in vain among their productions, with very few exceptions, for the higher efforts of the muse, yet confess that the perusal of 'The Voice of the Fountain,' 'Strafford Blest by Laud,' 'Enamoured Days,' 'Dryburgh Abbey,' and some others, has afforded us much gratification. The engravings, which are thirty-six in number, as in former instances, are not original, but possess many attractions. Among those of the greatest merit may be mentioned, 'Queen Henrietta interceding for the Life of Charles the First,' 'A View of the Place de la Concorde, Paris,' and 'Cromwell conferring with the Lawyers.'

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*A Tour in the United States.* By Archibald Prentice. London: Charles Gilpin.

WE have read this small volume with very considerable pleasure. Attracted to it by the name of its author, we have found it just the book that was needed. Free from ostentation, it is written in a perspicuous and manly style, bears throughout the strong impress of good sense and honesty, deals more largely with facts than many bulky volumes, and leaves upon its reader a clearer and better defined impression of the character of the American community, than is commonly derived from English tourists. Those who know Mr. Prentice will have full confidence in his reports, while others are furnished, in his own pages, with the means of easily testing his statements. There is scarcely a topic connected with the States, on which English readers are desirous of information, that he has not elucidated; and the whole is written with such good feeling and transparent sincerity as to command a more than usual measure of confidence. The religious apparatus furnished, the commercial doctrines held, the influence of slavery and the prospects of abolition, the working of republican institutions, and the character and social habits of the people, are illustrated in brief and apposite language. Full justice is done to the parties described, while an independent judgment is exercised in pointing out the defects,



whether theoretical or practical, which present themselves to an intelligent observer. The size of the volume, as already intimated, is small. 'A brief tour,' remarks Mr. Prentice, 'needs but a brief record.' We wish that other authors had remembered this fact. Had they done so, we should have been spared much wearisome reading and loss of time. In the present case the *quality* is good in proportion as the *quantity* is small, and its authority will not be diminished on this account. There is an entire absence of all the arts of authorship, and we warmly commend the volume to the acquaintance and confidence of our readers.

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*Commentary on the Psalms.* By E. W. Hengstenberg, Doctor and Professor of Theology, in Berlin. Vol. III. Translated by the Rev. John Thomson, and Rev. Patrick Fairbairn. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark.

THIS volume, constituting the twelfth, of *Clark's Foreign Theological Library*, will receive a hearty welcome from a numerous class. It completes the translation of a work of sterling merit, and exceeds considerably the ordinary size of the series. The translation, as far as the cxxvth Psalm, is by Mr. Thomson, and the remainder by Mr. Fairbairn. Their labours are entitled to great respect; and we trust that the theological students of the country will duly appreciate and reward them. It is needless to speak of Hengstenberg. We rather congratulate the rising ministry on the ready access now afforded to the best productions of the German school. It was not always so. Their seniors were destitute of these advantages, and we, therefore, look for a proportionate improvement in their elucidations of Holy Writ. The present day eminently requires the combination of sound scholarship and strong sense, with evangelical views and deep devotion. There is no incompatibility in these, whatever timid religionists may allege. Let us have as much of the former as possible, without impairing the simplicity, or diminishing the fervour of the latter. We thank the Messrs. Clark for the direction of their enterprise, and emphatically recommend their series to every minister and theological student. It will be a lasting disgrace to the class, if the *Foreign Theological Library* does not receive a generous support.

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*Belgium, The Rhine, Italy, Greece, and the Shores and Islands of the Mediterranean.* Illustrated in a series of beautifully-executed Engravings. With Historical, Classical, and Picturesque Descriptions. By the Rev. G. N. Wright, M.A., and L. F. A. Buckingham, Esq. London: Peter Jackson.

THIS beautiful volume, the engravings of which are exceedingly rich and chaste, combines the attractions of the Annual with the information of the traveller. Considering the immense number of

tourists who annually visit the Continent in search of novelty and of the picturesque, and the multiplicity and variety of 'Letters,' 'Journals,' and other books issued by them, on their return, we are somewhat surprised at the bold experiment of the publisher of this work. The authors of the literary portions of the volume have been eminently successful in collecting important illustrative information, which is so arranged as to throw a pleasing light over the scenery, architecture, habits, and history of the countries described. Their descriptions are at once adapted to please the lover of beautiful scenery, to inform the student, and to gratify the taste of the classical reader. The aim of the volume is to give condensed information respecting those places which are most worthy the notice of the tourist of Belgium, the Rhine, Italy, Greece, and the Mediterranean. It differs from ordinary books of travels, by availing itself of the adventures and experience of other tourists, for the special benefit of stayers-at-home. The readers of the volume will be disappointed, if they expect to find in its pages ardour of enthusiasm or warmth of feeling. Messrs. Wright and Buckingham make no pretensions to such qualities. On the contrary, they have imposed restraints on their imagination, and are wisely content to prove their possession of other attributes far more necessary to the successful compilation of such a work. The volume contains seventy-three exceedingly interesting and beautiful engravings, executed with admirable truth and spirit, by Messrs. Allom, Bartlett, Leich, Wolfensberger, and many others. We have been particularly pleased with 'The Pantheon at Rome,' 'The Church of St. Bavon,' 'Misitra, near Sparta,' 'The Chamber of Representatives,' at Brussels, and the 'Cathedral at Palermo;' while on the banks of the lovely Rhine, are charming views of 'Rheinfels,' 'Oberwesel,' 'Bacharach,' 'Coblentz,' and 'Ehrenbreitstein.' We cannot do better than close our notice in the words of Byron, suggested by the latter portion of this scenery:—

' But thou exulting and abounding river,  
 Making thy waves a blessing as they flow  
 Through banks whose beauty would endure for ever,  
 Could man but leave thy bright creation so,  
 Nor its fair promise from the surface mow,  
 With the sharp scythe of conflict.'

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*The Journal of Sacred Literature.* No. IV. October, 1848. Edited by John Kitto, D.D., F.S.A. London: C. Cox.

WE are glad to see the fourth number of this journal on our table, and cannot bring ourselves to believe that it will fail to secure sufficient patronage to place its continuance beyond question. Knowing, however, something of the difficulties attendant on periodical literature, we are not without apprehension, and therefore counsel all friends of the Journal to bestir themselves to the utmost. It is no

easy thing to force such a work into a remunerative sale, and Dr. Kitto ought not to be left to bear the burden of the undertaking alone. We are glad to find that the appeal, printed in his last number, has had some effect, though we regret it has not been such as to relieve the editor from the necessity of repeating it. This ought not to be. It is disgraceful to the theologians of the country, and argues a miserably defective estimate of the requirements of their position. We join with the editor, in impressing 'it upon every one who feels interested in this matter, to exert himself in that particular way in which he sees that *he* can render the most service to the undertaking.' We abstain designedly from criticising the several papers. Authors may be fair game, 'but dogs live not upon dogs!' The Journal has our hearty good wishes, as adapted to advance sound biblical scholarship amongst the public expounders of religious truth. If they permit it to fail, for want of due encouragement, they will merit the severest censure.

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*The Juvenile Scrap Book. A Gage d'Amour for the Young* Edited by Miss Jane Strickland. London: Peter Jackson. 1849.

ON opening 'The Juvenile Scrap Book' for 1849, we confess ourselves somewhat disappointed by the absence of the old and tried friend of the young, Mrs. Ellis, the editor of former volumes. She is succeeded by Miss Jane Strickland, who is assisted, both in prose and poetry, by her sister Miss Agnes Strickland, the well-known author of 'The Queens of England.' The publication appears in its usual style, embellished with eighteen engravings of respectable merit. Its verses are pretty and well-intentioned, while its tales are innocent and instructive, characterized by sound knowledge pleasantly conveyed.

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*Fireside Tales for the Young.* By Mrs. Ellis. Vol. I. London: Peter Jackson.

WE have a serious charge to prefer against this volume, or rather against the author or publisher of it. We suspect the fault is attributable to the latter, as it savours much of the artifices of trade. At any rate our gallantry will not permit us to suspect a lady of being party to the imposition, for such we verily deem it. Looking to the title-page of the volume, we supposed its contents to be original, for there is no intimation to the contrary; and were, therefore, greatly surprised to find, from the preface, that they consisted exclusively of a selection from the papers of Mrs. Ellis already before the public. We say nothing against the selection. Every paper is worthy of being reprinted, and the whole volume is well suited to interest and improve young readers. It is very much the sort of book which we would place in the hands of our younger children at this season of the year. We do, however, protest against such reprints being unnoticed in the title-page. We have done so in other



cases, and are still of opinion that there is a want of good faith in the practice, against which, writers of Mrs. Ellis's class should especially guard. The following sentence from her *Introduction* will sufficiently describe the volume: 'Those young readers who have been accustomed to welcome 'The Juvenile Scrap Book,' with each returning Christmas, or New Year, as a familiar friend, will be glad to receive, in a collected form, the best Articles which, from time to time, have appeared in that work; while, to others, the following Tales and Poems will have the additional charm of novelty.'

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*The Fireside; a Domestic Tale.* By Percy B. St. John. London: H. K. Lewis.

MR. ST. JOHN is gifted with the pen of a ready writer, and certainly uses it most indefatigably. This little tale bears marks of great haste, but has some sterling qualities. It is a sketch of everyday life; the characters are not faultless monsters, nor impersonated vices; the style is easy, and unaffected; the sentiments are benevolent; and the purpose, for all books, even of fiction, must have a moral purpose, now-a-days,—the very good one of showing the evils that spring from the want of mutual confidence and congenial pursuits in the sharers of the 'Fireside.' Mr. St. John does not possess all the excellencies we have indicated, in the highest, or even in a very high, degree; but, to some extent, they all combine to make this a very pleasant domestic story.

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*Christ's Intercessory Prayer: Six Discourses on the Seventeenth Chapter of St. John.* By Edward Scobell, M. A., London: Haselden. 1848.

*Scriptural Teaching; a Pastor's Offering to his People* By Rev. W. Blackley, B.A. London: Hatchard. 1847.

*Sermons for Sunday Evenings.* By Ministers of the Free Church of Scotland. Edinburgh: Johnstone. 1848.

THE first of these volumes is a set of so-called expository discourses on, or rather *about*,—and sometimes describing a very wide circle,—a portion of Scripture which few men can touch without spoiling. Our author is not one of the few. He has produced a dilection, rather than an exposition, presenting obvious truths, the connexion of which with one another, is not always very apparent, in a diffuse, lumbering, helpless style.

The second is simple, evangelical, Scriptural teaching, with nothing very specially deserving paper and print.

The contents of the third are furnished by the leading ministers of the Free Church,—Guthrie, Candlish, Buchanan, Mc'Cheyne, and others; and seem to be picked specimens of their various excellencies, chosen with a happy regard to their adaptation to the religious exercises of a Scottish Sabbath evening. We hope the volume will be usefully employed on many an English Sabbath afternoon.

*Lectures illustrating the Contrast between True Christianity and various other systems.* By William B. Sprague, D.D. Glasgow and London: Collins.

THE systems contrasted with Christianity are, Atheism, Paganism, Deism, Mohammedanism, Romanism, Unitarianism, Antinomianism, Formalism, Sentimentalism, and Fanaticism. One must question the propriety of calling the first of these a *religion*, and the last three, *systems*; but, admitting their title to a place, the book is a good one. It quite realizes the current idea of a popular work, that is to say, there is much correct statement both of facts and arguments; there is much Christianity of heart, while there is no overcrowding of the page with thoughts; each that occurs being thoroughly worked out, while the more important are impeded by a repetition that, unfortunately, sometimes misses its aim by its very urgency in the effort to secure it.

## Literary Intelligence.

*Just Published.*

Mosheim's Institutes of Ecclesiastical History, Ancient and Modern. A new and literal Translation from the Original Latin, with copious Additional Notes, Original and Selected. By Jas. Murdock, D.D. Revised and Supplementary Notes added. By James Seaton Reid, D.D.

Horæ Biblicæ Sabbaticæ—Sabbath Scripture Readings. By the late Thomas Chalmers, D.D. Vol. II.

Poems. By Currer, Ellis, and Acton Bell.

The Protestant Dissenters' Almanack for 1849.

Trafford, the Reward of Genius, and other Poems. By Jas. Innes Minchin.

Mary Barton: a Tale of Manchester Life. In 2 vols.

Ruins of Many Lands. Part II.

The Nature and Office of the State. By Andrew Coventry Dick.

The Prose Works of John Milton. With a Preface, Preliminary Remarks and Notes. By J. A. St. John. 3 vols. Bohn's Library.

Essays and Tales, by John Stirling. Collected and Edited with a Memoir of his Life, by Julius Charles Hare, M.A. In 2 vols.

The Life of the most Rev. James Usher, D.D. With an account of his Writings. By Charles Richard Ebrington, D.D. 8vo.

The Biblical Repository and Classical Review. October, 1848.

Baptism. With Reference to its Import and Modes. By Edward Beecher, D.D.

Sketches. Part I. Joseph Lancaster and his Contemporaries. Part II. William Allen, his Life and Labours. By Henry Dunn.

Chronology of Prophecy, tracing the various courses of Divine Providence, from the Flood to the End of Time, in the Light as well of National Annals, as of Scriptural Predictions. By Adam Thorn, Recorder of Rupert's Land.

The Work of God, and the Work of Man, in Conversion. A Course of Lectures. By Francis Johnston.

Authorised Street Preaching Proposed as a Remedy for our Social Evils, in a Letter to the Venerable Archdeacon ———. By a Country Parson.

The Number and Names of the Apocalyptic Beasts, with an Explanation and Application in Two Parts. Part I. The Number and Names. By David Thom.

The Poetry of Science; or, Studies of the Physical Phenomena of Nature. By Robt. Hunt, author of 'Researches on Light,' etc.

Sermons. By the Rev. Wm. Lyall.

An Historical Inquiry into the True Principles of Beauty in Art, more especially with reference to Architecture. By James Fergusson, Esq., Architect.

Remarks on the Government Scheme of National Education, as applied to Scotland. By Lord Melgund, M.P.

The People's Dictionary of the Bible. Part XXXIX.

Lepage's French School. Part I. L'Echo de Paris.

Lepage's Ready Guide to French Composition.

The National Cyclopædia of Useful Knowledge. Part XXII.

Inaugural Address of the Christian Young Men's Missionary Association. Rev. S. Martin.

On the Advancement of Nations from the Barbarous to the Civilized State. By Rev. J. J. Freeman.

Poems. By Henry Wadsworth Longfellow.

A Tribute for the Negro, being a Vindication of the Moral, Intellectual, and Religious Capabilities of the Coloured Portion of Mankind, with particular Reference to the African Race, illustrated by numerous Biographical Sketches, Facts, Anecdotes, etc., and many superior Portraits and Engravings. By Wilson Armistead.

The History of England during the Thirty Years' Peace, 1815—1845. Part III. Second Part.

The Romanist Version of the Gospel according to St. John, from MSS. preserved in Trinity College, Dublin; and in the Bibliotheque du Roi, Paris. With an Introductory History of the Version of the New Testament, anciently in Use among the Old Waldenses, and Remarks on the Texts of the Dublin, Paris, Grenoble, Zurich, and Lyons MSS. of that version. By Wm. Stephen Gilly, D.D.

The Judges of England, with Sketches of their Lives and Miscellaneous Notices connected with the Courts at Westminster, from the Time of the Conquest. By Edward Foss, F.S.A. of the Inner Temple. 2 vols.

Mechanics' Institutions, as Affecting the Character of the People and the Welfare of Society. An Introductory Lecture, delivered before the Gateshead Mechanics Institute, on Thursday, Oct. 19, 1848. By Rev. J. Davies, D.D.

A Descriptive Atlas of Astronomy, and of Physical and Political Geography. By Rev. Thos. Milner, M.A. Parts VIII. and IX.

The Cottage Gardener, conducted by George W. Johnson, Esq. Part I.

The Bible of Every Land; or, a History Critical and Philological of all the Versions of the Sacred Scriptures, in every Language and Dialect into which Translations have been made. Part II.

The North British Review. No. XIX.

History of the French Revolutions, from 1789 till the Present time. Part IV.

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